

INTRODUCTION

TO THE

HISTORY OF THE COLONY

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ANCIENT DOMINION

OF

VIRGINIA.

BY CHARLES CAMPBELL.

IN ONE VOLUME.

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HISTORY OF VIRGINIA.

CHAPTER I.

1492-1591.

Early voyages of Discovery; Madoc; The Northmen; Columbus; John Cabot; Sebastian Cabot; Sir Humphrey Gilbert; Walter Raleigh; Expedition of Amidas and Barlow; They land on Woccon Island; They return to England; The new country named Virginia; Grenville's Expedition; Colony of Roanoke; Lane Governor; The Colony abandoned; Tobacco; Grenville returns to Virginia; Leaves a small Colony at Roanoke; Sir Walter Raleigh sends out another Expedition; City of Raleigh Chartered; White Governor; Roanoke found deserted; Virginia Dare, first child born in the Colony; White returns for supplies; The Armada; Raleigh assigns the Colony to a Company; White returns to Virginia; Finds the Colony extinct; Death of Sir Richard Grenville.

The discoveries attributed to Madoc, the Welsh prince, have afforded a theme for the creations of poetry; those of the Northmen of Iceland, better authenticated, still engage the dim researches of antiquarian curiosity. The glory of having made the first certain discovery of the New World, belongs to Columbus. It was, however, the good fortune of the Cabots, to be the first who actually reached the main land. It was in 1492, that the Genoese navigator first landed on the shores of St. Salvador. [1497.] Giovanni Gaboto, in English, John Cabot, a Venetian merchant, resident at Bristol, with his son, Sebastian, a native of that city, having obtained a patent from Henry VII., sailed under his flag and discovered the main continent of America, amid the inhospitable rigors of the wintry North. It was more than a year subsequent, that Columbus, in his third voyage, set his foot on the main land of the South. [1498.] Sebastian Cabot again crossed the Atlantic and coasted from the 58th degree of North latitude, along the shores of the United States, perhaps as far as to the Southern boundary of Maryland.

Portuguese, French and Spanish navigators now visited North America, with what motives, adventures and success, it is not necessary to relate here. [1583.] Sir Humphrey Gilbert, commissioned by Queen Elizabeth and assisted by his half-brother, Walter Raleigh, fitted out a small fleet and made a voyage to Newfoundland, where he landed and took formal possession of the country. This intrepid navigator embarking to return in the Squirrel, a vessel of only ten tons, was lost in a storm. When last seen by the company of the Hind, Sir Humphrey, although surrounded by imminent perils, was seated calmly on deck, with a book in his hand, and was heard to exclaim, "Be of good cheer, my friends, it is as near to Heaven by sea as by land."

Not daunted by the fate of his heroic kinsman, Raleigh persisted in the design of effecting a settlement in America, and being now high in the Queen's favor, obtained letters patent for that purpose, dated March 25th, 1584. Aided by some gentlemen and merchants, particularly by his gallant kinsmen, Sir Richard Grenville, and Mr. William Sanderson who had married his niece, Raleigh succeeded in providing two small vessels. These were put under command of Captains Philip Amidas and Arthur Barlow. Barlow had already served with distinction under Raleigh in Ireland. The two vessels left the Thames on the 27th of April, 1584. Pursuing the old circuitous route by the Canaries, they reached the West Indies. After a short stay there, they sailed North, and early in July, as they approached the coast of Florida, the mariners were regaled with the odors of a thousand flowers wafted from the fragrant shore. Amidas and Barlow, passing one hundred and twenty miles farther, landed on the island of Wococon,* in the stormy re-

* See in "Memorials of North Carolina," by J. Seawell Jones, a graphic description of this island, and of the circumstances of the landing there. This writer, who evinces

gion of Cape Hatteras, one of a long series of narrow, low, sandy islands, which seem like breast-works to defend the main land from the fury of the ocean. The English took possession of the country in the Queen's name. The valleys were wooded with tall cedars, overrun with vines hung in rich festoons, the grapes clustering in profusion on the ground and trailing in the sea. For two days no inhabitant was seen; on the third a canoe with three men approached. One of them was readily persuaded to come aboard, when some presents gained his confidence. Going away he began to fish, and having loaded his canoe returned, and dividing his cargo into two parts, signified that one was for the ship, the other for the pinnace. On the next day they received a visit from some canoes, in which were forty or fifty men, amongst whom was Granganameo, the King's brother. The King, Wingina, himself lay at his chief town, six miles distant, confined by severe wounds received in a recent battle. Here the English were hospitably entertained by the wife of Granganameo. She was small, pretty and bashful, clothed in a leathern mantle with the fur turned in; her long black hair was restrained by a band of white coral; strings of pearl hung from her ears and reached to her waist. The disposition of the natives seemed gentle, their manners easy; presents and traffic soon conciliated their good will. The country was called Wingandacoa; the soil was found rich; the air mild and salubrious; the forests abounded with a variety of "sweet-smelling trees" and oaks superior in size to those of England. Fruits, melons, nuts and esculent roots were observed; the woods were stocked with game and the waters with innumerable fish and wild fowl. After having examined as much of the interior as their time would permit, Amidas and Barlow sailed homeward, accompanied by two of the natives, Manteo and Wanchese. Queen Elizabeth, charmed with the glowing descriptions of the new country, which the enthusiastic adventurers gave her on their return, named it, in allusion to her own state

a fine genius, vindicates his native State, against what he conceived to be the unjust and arrogant claims of Virginia. His argument would have lost none of its force by the omission of the spleenetic and invidious remarks in which he indulges. There is no real ground of jealousy between these two States. The recollections of Sir Walter Raleigh's Colony belong equally to both.

of life, VIRGINIA.* Raleigh was shortly after returned to parliament from the county of Devon and about the same period knighted. The Queen granted him also a patent to license the vending of wines throughout the kingdom. Such a monopoly was part of the arbitrary system of that day. Nor was Sir Walter unconscious of its injustice, for when some years afterwards a spirit of resistance to it showed itself in the House of Commons, and a member was warmly inveighing against it, Sir Walter was observed to blush. Yet he voted for the abolition of such monopolies, and no one could have made a more munificent use of such emoluments, than he did in carrying out his grand schemes of the discovery and colonization of Virginia.

[1585.] He fitted out a fleet of seven vessels for that country, and entrusted the command of it to his relative, Sir Richard Grenville. This gallant officer had, like the celebrated Cervantes, shared in the famous battle of Lepanto, and after distinguishing himself by his conduct during the Irish rebellion, had become a conspicuous member of parliament. Grenville was accompanied by Thomas Candish, or Cavendish, afterwards renowned as a circumnavigator of the globe—Thomas Hariot, a friend of Raleigh and a profound mathematician, and John With, an artist, whose pencil supplied materials for the illustration of the works of De Bry and Beverley. On the 26th of June, the fleet anchored at Wococon, but the navigation there being found too perilous, they proceeded through Ocracock inlet to the island of Roanoke, (at the mouth of Albemarle Sound,) which they selected as the seat of the Colony. The colonists one hundred and eight in number were landed. Manteo, who had returned with them, had already been sent from Wococon, to announce their arrival to his king, Wingina. Grenville, accompanied by Lane, Hariot, Cavendish and others, explored the coast for eighty miles southward, to the town of Secotan, in the present county of Craven,

* Stith's History of Virginia, 11. Tytler's Life of Sir Walter Raleigh: Edit. in Greenbank's Periodical Lib. Bancroft's History of the United States, 1 cap. 1, 2, 3. Beverley's History of Virginia, B. 1, p. 2. Smith's History of Virginia, B. 1, p. 79-85. Early History of Rhode Island, 179-181.

Mazzei's account of the early settlement of Virginia in the commencement of his *Recherches sur les Etats-Unis* abounds in errors. Yet this work was written expressly for the purpose of correcting the errors of other writers.

North Carolina. During this excursion, the Indians at a village called Aquascogoc, stole a silver cup. A boat being despatched to reclaim it, the astonished inhabitants fled to the woods, and the English, regardless at once of the dictates of prudence and humanity, burnt the town and destroyed the standing corn. Grenville in a short time re-embarked for England with a valuable cargo of skins and furs, and on his voyage captured a rich Spanish prize.

Lane now extended his discoveries to the Northward, as far as the town of Chesapeakes, on Elizabeth river, near where Norfolk now stands, and about one hundred and thirty miles from the island of Roanoke. The Chowan river was also explored, and a voyage was made up the Roanoke, then known as the Moratoc. Lane, although a good soldier, seems to have wanted some of the qualities indispensable in the founder of a new plantation. The Indians grew more hostile, conspiracies were entered into for the destruction of the whites, and the rash and bloody measures employed to defeat their machinations, only aggravated the mischief. The colonists, filled with alarm, became impatient to escape from a scene of so many privations and so much danger. In this critical juncture, Sir Francis Drake arrived with a fleet of twenty-three sail. This celebrated navigator, returning from a long cruise, in part privateering, in part exploring, anchored near Roanoke, to enquire into the welfare of the plantation of his friend, Sir Walter Raleigh. Drake furnished Lane with vessels and supplies amply sufficient to complete the discovery of the country and to ensure a safe return home, should that alternative be found necessary. A violent storm raging for four days, dispersed and shattered Drake's fleet and destroyed the vessels that had been assigned to Lane. The tempest at length subsiding, Drake generously offered Lane another ship, with supplies. But the governor, acquiescing in the unanimous desire of the colonists, requested permission for them all to embark in the fleet and return to England. The request was granted, and thus ended the first actual settlement of the English in America.

During the year which the Colony had passed at Roanoke, Witten had made drawings from nature illustrative of the appearance

and habits of the natives. Hariot had accurately observed the soil and productions of the country, an account of which he afterwards published.* He, Lane, and some other of the Colonists had learned from the Indians the use of a narcotic plant, called by them Uppowoc, by the Europeans, tobacco. The natives smoked it; sprinkled the dust of it on their fishing weirs, to make them fortunate; burnt it in sacrifices to appease the anger of the gods, and scattered it in the air and on the water, to allay the fury of the tempest. Lane carried back some tobacco to England, supposed to be the first ever introduced into that kingdom.† Sir Walter Raleigh by his example soon rendered the use of this seductive leaf fashionable at court. His tobacco-box and pipes were long preserved in England by the curiosity of antiquaries. It is related that he made a wager with the Queen, that he could calculate the weight of the smoke evaporated from a pipe-full of tobacco. This he easily won, by first weighing the tobacco and then the ashes, when the queen agreed, that the difference must have gone off in smoke. Upon paying the guineas, Elizabeth gaily remarked, that "she had heard of many workers in the fire, that had turned their gold into smoke, but that Sir Walter was the first that had turned his smoke into gold." Another anecdote is, that a country servant of Raleigh's bringing him a tankard of ale and nutmeg into his study, as he was intently reading and smoking, was so alarmed at seeing clouds of smoke issuing from his master's mouth, that he ran down stairs, crying out that Sir Walter was on fire.

Sir Walter Raleigh never visited Virginia, although it has been so represented by several writers. Had he in person undertaken the plantation of the Colony, it would probably have been managed with more prudence and crowned with better success.

Drake's fleet had hardly lost sight of the coast before a vessel arrived at Roanoke with supplies for the Colony. Finding it abandoned she sailed for England.

Within a fortnight after, Sir Richard Grenville, with three relief vessels, fitted out prin-

* "A True Report of the New-foundland of Virginia." The name of the author is properly Heriot, but Hariot is more commonly used.

† See Mrs. Thompson's Life of Raleigh, in Appendix.

cipally by Raleigh, arrived off Virginia. Grenville unwilling that the English should lose possession of the country, left fifteen men on the island of Roanoke with provisions for two years.

No disappointment could abate the indomitable resolution of Raleigh. During the ensuing year, 1587, he sent out a new expedition of three vessels, to establish a Colony, which he chartered by the name of "The Governor and assistants of the city of Raleigh in Virginia." John White was sent out as Governor with twelve counsellors, and they were directed to establish themselves at the town of Chesapeakes, on Elizabeth River.* Arriving at Roanoke near the end of July, White found the Colony deserted, human bones scattered on the beach, the fort rased, and deer couching in the ruinous cabins, or feeding on the vegetation which had overgrown the floor and crept up the walls.

Raleigh's judicious order, instructing White to plant the Colony on the banks of Elizabeth river, was not carried into effect, owing to the refusal of Ferdinando, the naval officer, to assist in exploring the country for that purpose. An English sailor being slain by the savages, a party was despatched to avenge his death, and by mistake unfortunately killed several of a friendly tribe. Manteo, by Raleigh's direction, was christened and created Lord of Roanoke and Dassamonpeake. On the 18th of August, the governor's daughter, Eleanor, wife to Ananias Dare, one of the council, gave birth to a daughter, the first christian child born in the country, and hence named *Virginia*. Dissensions now arose among the settlers, and although they were not in want of stores, some demanded permission to go home; others violently opposed; at last, however, all joined in requesting the governor to sail for England and return with supplies. To this he reluctantly consented, and leaving Roanoke on the 27th of August, 1587, where he left eighty-nine men, seventeen women and eleven children, he arrived in England on the 5th of November. He found the kingdom wholly engrossed in taking measures of defence against the threatened invasion of the Spanish Armada. Raleigh, Grenville, and Lane, were assisting

Elizabeth in her council of war. The conjuncture was most unpropitious to the interests of the infant Colony. Raleigh nevertheless found time even in this portentous crisis of public affairs to despatch White with supplies in two vessels. But the company, running after prizes, encountered privateers, and after a bloody engagement, White's vessels were so disabled and plundered as to be obliged to put back to England, whilst it was impossible to refit, owing to the urgency of more important matters.

But even after the destruction of the Armada, Sir Walter Raleigh found it impracticable to prosecute any further his favorite design of establishing a Colony in Virginia. [1589.] He formed a company of merchants and adventurers and assigned to it his proprietary rights.* In this company were Thomas Smith a wealthy London merchant, afterwards knighted, and Richard Hakluyt, Dean of Westminster, and the compiler of a celebrated collection of voyages. Raleigh, at the time of making this assignment, gave a hundred pounds for propagating Christianity among the natives of Virginia. After experiencing a long series of vexations, difficulties and disappointments, he had expended forty thousand pounds in efforts for planting a Colony in America. At length disengaged from this enterprise, he indulged his martial genius, and bent all his energies against the colossal ambition of Spain, who now aspired to overshadow the world.

More than another year was suffered to elapse, before White returned to search for the long neglected Colony. He had now been absent from it for three years, and felt the solicitude not only of a governor, but also of a parent. Upon his departure from Roanoke, it had been concerted between him and the settlers, that if they should abandon that island for another seat, they should carve the name of the place to which they should remove, on some conspicuous object, and if they went away in distress, a cross should be carved above the name. Upon his arrival at Roanoke, White found not one of the Colonists;—the houses had been dismantled and

* "Le Colonel Richard Bland dans sa dissertation pleine de sens et d'erudition, sur les droits des Colonies, imprimée en Virginie en 1766, dit que Raleigh renonça à ses droits et ne parle d'aucune exception." Recherches sur les Etats-Unis, (by Mazzei,) v. 1., p. 9.

a fort erected; goods had been buried in the earth and in part disinterred and scattered;—on a post within the fort the word CROATAN was carved without, however, a cross above it.

The weather proving stormy, seven of the company were lost by the capsizing of a boat, the stock of provisions grew short, and no further search was then made for the unfortunate Colonists. None of them ever was found, and whether they perished by famine or by the Indian tomahawk, was left a subject of mournful conjecture. The site of the Colony was unfortunate, being difficult of access and near the stormy Cape Hatteras, whose very name is synonymous with danger and shipwreck. Thus after many nobly planned but unhappily conducted expeditions, and enormous expense of life and treasure, the first plantation of Virginia became extinct.

[1591.] Sir Richard Grenville fell in a bloody action with a Spanish fleet near the Azores. Mortally wounded, he was removed on board one of the enemy's ships and in two days died. In the hour of his death, he said in the Spanish language to those around him:—"Here I, Richard Grenville, die with a joyous and quiet mind, for that I have ended my life as a true soldier ought to do, fighting for his country, queen, religion and honor, my soul willingly departing from this body, leaving behind the lasting fame of having behaved as every valiant soldier is in his duty bound to do."* This gallant knight was next to his kinsman, Sir Walter Raleigh, the principal person concerned in the first settlement of Virginia.†

CHAPTER II.

1591—1604.

Gosnold's Voyage to New England; Early Life and Adventures of Captain John Smith; Born at Willoughby; At thirteen years of age undertakes to go to sea; At fifteen apprentice to a merchant; Visits France; Studies

* Camden, quoted by Barrow in his Life of Sir Francis Drake, 169. The dying words of Grenville may recall to mind those of Campbell's Lochiel:

"And leaving in death no blot on my name,
Look proudly to heaven from a death-bed of fame."

† Stith's Hist. of Va., 29. Tytler's Raleigh, 18.

the military art; Serves in the Low countries; Repairs to Scotland; Returns to Willoughby; Studies and exercises; adventures in France; Embarks for Italy; Thrown into the sea; His escape; Joins the Austrians in the war with the Turks; His gallantry; Combat with three Turks; Made prisoner at Rottenton; His sufferings and escape; Voyages and Travels; Returns to England.

[1602.] Captain Bartholomew Gosnold, deviating from the oblique route by the Canaries and the West Indies, made a direct voyage in a small bark across the Atlantic, and in seven weeks reached Massachusetts Bay. It was on this occasion, that Englishmen for the first time landed on the soil of New England. Gosnold returned to England in a short passage of five weeks. In these early voyages, the heroism of the navigators is the more admirable, when we advert to the extremely small burthen of their vessels and the imperfection of nautical science at that day.

[1606.] Measures were taken in England for planting another Colony. But preliminary to a relation of the settlement of Virginia proper, it is necessary to give some history of Captain John Smith, "the father of the Colony."

He was born at Willoughby in Lincolnshire, England, in 1579, being descended, on his father's side, from an ancient family of Crudley, in Lancashire, on his mother's, from the Rickands at Great Heck, in Yorkshire.* He was educated at the free schools of Alford and Louth. At the age of thirteen, his mind being bent upon bold adventures, he sold his satchel, books and all he had, intending to go privately to sea. His father's death occurring just then, prevented the execution of that scheme. Having before lost his mother, he was now left an orphan with a competent estate, which, however, being too young to receive, he little regarded. At fifteen he was bound apprentice to Thomas Sendall of Linn, "the greatest merchant of all those parts." But in a little time, disgusted with the monotony of that life, he quit it and accompanied a son of Lord Willoughby to France. There he began to learn the military art, and afterwards served some years in the Low countries. Thence he embarked for Scotland, with letters recommending him to the notice

* Smith's Hist. of Va. I., 1-54. "The Trve Travells, Adventures and Observations of Captaine John Smith." Hillard's Life of Smith in Sparks' American Biography.

of King James VI. After suffering illness and shipwreck, Smith reached Scotland; but finding himself without money or means necessary to make himself a courtier, he returned to his native place, Willoughby. There, indulging a romantic taste, he built for himself a lodge in a neighboring forest, where he studied military history and tactics, and amused his leisure with hunting and horsemanship. In this retreat he was visited by an Italian gentleman in the service of the Earl of Lincoln, who persuaded him to return into the world, and he now repaired once more to the Low countries. Having made himself master of horsemanship and the use of arms, Smith resolved to try his fortune against the Turks. Proceeding to St. Valery, in France, his trunks were plundered by some French gallants, and he was forced to sell his cloak to pay his passage. Wandering in France he experienced extraordinary vicissitudes of fortune. Walking one day in a forest, worn out with distress and fatigue, he fell prostrate on the ground by the side of a fountain, scarcely hoping ever to rise again. Found in this condition by a humane farmer, his necessities were relieved and he was enabled to pursue his journey. At another time he met in a grove one of the Frenchmen who had robbed him. Without a word on either side they drew their swords and fought. The Frenchman soon fell, but confessing his guilt, Smith, though hurt in the rencontre, spared his life.

Aided by the liberality of a former acquaintance, "the Earl of Poyer," he went to Marseilles and embarked in a vessel crowded with pilgrims bound for Rome. On the voyage, the weather proving stormy, the pilgrims, with bitter imprecations against Queen Elizabeth and Smith, cast him as a heretic into the sea, in order to propitiate Heaven. He saved himself by swimming to the islet of St. Mary, (opposite Nice, in Savoy,) which he found inhabited only by a few cattle and goats. On the next day he was taken up by a French ship, the Captain of which proving to be a friend of "the Earl of Poyer," entertained him kindly. With him Smith visited Alexandria in Egypt, Scanderoon, the Archipelago, and coast of Greece. During the cruise, a Venetian argosy was captured after a desperate action, in which Smith displayed signal courage. He landed in Pied-

mont with five hundred sequins and a box of jewels, his share of the prize. In Italy he met with Lord Willoughby and his brother, both recently wounded in a duel. At Rome he saw the Pope, and surveyed the wonders of the imperial city. Embarking at Venice, he crossed over to the wild regions of Albania and Dalmatia. Visiting next Gratz, in Styria, he met there the archduke Ferdinand, and joining a German regiment, engaged in the war with the Turks. At the siege of Olym pack and of Stowle Wessenburg, in 1601, Smith distinguished himself as a volunteer in the artillery service. For his good conduct he was put in command of two hundred and fifty horse under Count Meldritch. In the Battle of Girke he had a horse killed under him, and was badly wounded. At the siege of Regal he encountered and slew in a tournament three several Turkish champions, Turbashaw, Grualgo, and Bonny Mul gro. For these exploits he was honored with a triumphal procession, in which the three Turks' heads were borne on lances. A horse richly caparisoned was presented to him with a cimeter and belt worth three hundred ducats, and he was promoted to the rank of Major. In the bloody battle of Rottenton he was wounded and made prisoner. With such of the prisoners as escaped massacre, he was sold into slavery at Axiopolis and fell into the hands of the Bashaw Bogall, who sent him by way of Adrianople to Constantinople, a present to his youthful mistress, Charatza Tragabigzanda. Captivated with her prisoner, she treated him tenderly, and to prevent his being sold again, sent him to remain for a time with her brother, the Tymour Bashaw of Nalritz, in Tartary. He occupied a stone castle near the sea of Azof. Immediately on Smith's arrival his head was shaved, an iron collar riveted on his neck, and he was clothed in hair-cloth. Here long he suffered cruel bondage. At length one day while threshing in a barn, the Bashaw having cruelly beaten and reviled him, he turned and slew him on the spot with the threshing bat, then put on his clothes, hid his body in the straw, filled a sack with corn, closed the doors, mounted the Bashaw's horse and rode off. After wandering for some days he fell in with a highway, and observing that the roads leading towards Russia were indicated by a cross, he followed that sign, and

in sixteen days reached Ecopolis, a Russian frontier post on the Don. The governor there took off his irons, and he was kindly treated by him and the lady Callamata. Passing through Russia and Poland, he returned to Transylvania, in December, 1603. Here he met many friends and enjoyed so much happiness, that nothing less than his desire to revisit his native country could have torn him away. Proceeding through Hungary, Moravia and Bohemia, he went to Leipsic, where he found Prince Sigismund, who gave him fifteen hundred golden ducats to repair his losses. Travelling through Germany, France and Spain, from Gibraltar he sailed for Tangier, in Africa, and to the city of Morocco. Taking passage in a French man-of-war, he was present in a terrible sea-fight with two Spanish ships, and after touching at Santa Cruz, Cape Goa and Mogadore, he finally returned to England about the year 1604.

CHAPTER III.

1604—1607.

Gosnold, Smith and others set on foot another expedition; James I. issues Letters patent; Instructions for government of the Colony; Charter granted to London Company for First Colony of Virginia; Sir Thomas Smith Treasurer; Government of the Colony; Three vessels under Newport sail for Virginia; The voyage; Enter Chesapeake Bay; Ascend the James river; The English entertained by the Chief of the Quiyoughcohanocks; Landing at Jamestown; Wingfield President; Smith excluded from the council.

Bartholomew Gosnold was the prime mover, and Captain John Smith the chief actor in the settlement of Virginia. Gosnold, * who had already made a voyage to New England, in 1602, for many years fruitlessly labored to set on foot an expedition for that purpose. At length he was reinforced in his efforts by Captain Smith, Edward Maria Wingfield, a merchant, Robert Hunt, a clergyman, and others, and by their united exertions, certain of the nobility, gentry and merchants became interested in the project, and King James the first, who, in 1603, had succeeded Elizabeth, was induced to lend it his countenance. †

April 10th, 1606, letters patent were issued authorizing the establishment of two Colonies in Virginia and other parts of America. All the country from 34 to 45 degrees of North latitude, then known as Virginia, was divided into two colonies, the first, or Southern, and the second, or Northern. The Southern colony was appropriated to London, and the plantation of it was entrusted to Sir Thomas Gates and Sir George Somers, knights, Richard Hackluyt clerk, prebendary of Westminster, Edward Maria Wingfield and some others. It was provided that the Colony should have a council of its own, subject to a superior council in England. The inferior council was authorized to search for and dig mines, coin money, carry over adventurers and repel intruders. Revenue duties were imposed, the colonists invested with the privileges of English subjects, and the lands granted to settlers in free and common socage. * On the 20th of November, 1606, instructions were given by the Crown for the government of the two Colonies, directing that the council in England should be appointed by the Crown, the local council by the superior one in England, the local council to choose a President annually from its own body, the Christian religion to be preached, lands to descend as in England, the trial by jury secured in criminal causes, and the council empowered to determine all civil actions, all produce and goods imported to be stored in magazines, a clerk and treasurer, or Cape Merchant to be appointed for the colony. The stockholders, styled adventurers, were authorized to organize a company for the management of the business of the colony, and to superintend the proceedings of the local council. The Colonists were enjoined to treat the natives with kindness, and to endeavor by all means to convert them to Christianity. † March 9th, 1607, the general council was enlarged and further instructions given for its government. May 23rd, a charter was granted to the treasurer and company of adventurers for the city of London for the first Colony of Virginia. To this company was granted all the land in that part of America called Virginia, from Point Comfort along from the sea-coast to the Northward two hundred miles, and to

* Stith, 30.

† Smith, Vol. I, p. 149.

* Hening's Statutes at Large, Vol. I, p. 57.

† I Hen., 67. Stith 30, and Appendix 2.

the Southward two hundred miles up into the land from sea to sea West and Northwest. The council in England was authorized to establish forms of government for the Colony, and the governor was empowered, in case of rebellion, or mutiny, to enforce martial law, and the oath of supremacy was required to be taken by the Colonists. For the rest, the provisions of the letters patent granted to Sir Thomas Gates were generally re-enacted.* Sir Thomas Smith was appointed Treasurer of the company in England, and the chief management of their affairs was entrusted to him. He was an eminent London merchant, had been chief of Sir Walter Raleigh's assignees, was about this time governor of the East India Company, and had been ambassador to Russia.†

The frame of government provided for the new Colony was cumbersome and complicated. The legislative and administrative powers were so distributed between the local council, the Crown and the company, as to involve delay, uncertainty, conflict and irresponsibility. The Colonists, by the words of the charter, were invested with the rights of Englishmen; yet as far as political rights were concerned, there being no security provided by which they could be vindicated, they might often prove to be of no more real value than the parchment on which they were written. Yet the government of an infant colony must of necessity be for the most part arbitrary. The political rights of the colonists must for a time lie in abeyance. The civil rights of the Virginia colonists were protected by the trial by jury, and lands were held by a free tenure.

After long delay three vessels were equipped for the expedition, one of twenty tons, one of forty, the third of one hundred. They were commanded by Captain Christopher Newport, a navigator experienced in voyages to the New world. Orders were put on board, enclosed in a sealed box, not to be opened until their arrival in Virginia. They set sail on the 19th of December, 1606, from Blackwall. For six weeks head-winds detained them in the Downs, within view of the English coast. During this interval, disorder threatening a mutiny, prevailed among the adventurers. However it was suppressed by

the interposition of the clergyman, Mr. Hunt. The winds at length proving favorable, the little fleet proceeded along the old route, by the Canaries, to the West Indies, and after passing three weeks there, sailed in quest of the island of Roanoke. Having exceeded their reckoning three days, without finding land, the crew grew impatient, and Ratcliffe, captain of the pinnace, proposed to steer back for England. At this conjuncture, a violent storm providentially drove them into the mouth of Chesapeake bay. The first land they came in sight of, April 26, 1607, they called Cape Henry, in honor of the prince of Wales, eldest son of king James.* A party of thirty landing, found "flowers of divers kinds and colors and goodly trees." While recreating themselves on the shore, they were assailed by five of the savages, who came "creeping upon all fours from the hills, like bears," and wounded two, but retired at the discharge of muskets.†

That night the sealed box was opened, when it appeared that the members of council appointed, were Bartholomew Gosnold, John Smith, Edward Maria Wingfield, Christopher Newport, John Ratcliffe, John Martin and George Kendall. They were instructed to elect out of their own number a president for one year. He and the council together were invested with the government. Affairs of moment were to be examined by a jury, but determined by the council.

Seventeen days were spent in quest of a place for the settlement. A point, at the entrance of the Chesapeake bay, they named Point Comfort, because they found a good harbor there, which, after the late storm, "put them in good comfort." Landing there April 30th, they saw five Indians, who were at first alarmed, but seeing Captain Newport lay his hand upon his heart, they came boldly up and invited the strangers to Kecoughtan (Hampton) their town. There the English were entertained with corn-bread, tobacco and pipes and a dance. May 4th, they were kindly received by the Paspaheghs. The

* Smith, vol. 1, p. 151. Cape Charles was called after the King's second son, then Duke of York, afterwards Charles I.

† Narrative (in 4 Purchas' Pilgrims, p. 1685.) by George Percy, brother of the Earl of Northumberland and one of the first expedition. See Hillard's Life of Smith, in Sparks' Amer. Biog. 211 and 214, in note. Hillard in the main follows Smith.

* Smith, Appendix 8. I Hen., 76.

† Smith, 42.

chief of a neighboring tribe * sent a guide to conduct them to his habitation, and stood on the bank of the river to meet them when they landed, "with all his train," (says Percy,) "as goodly men as any I have seen of savages or Christians, the Werowance † coming before them playing on a flute made of a reed, with a crown of deer's hair, colored red, in fashion of a rose, fastened about his knot of hair, and a great plate of copper on the other side of his head, with two long feathers, in fashion of a pair of horns, placed in the midst of his crown. His body was painted all with crimson, with a chain of beads about his neck; his face painted blue, besprinkled with silver ore, as we thought; his ears all behung with bracelets of pearl and in either ear a bird's claw through it, beset with fine copper or gold. He entertained us in so modest a proud fashion, as though he had been a prince of civil government, holding his countenance without laughter or any such ill behavior. He caused his mat to be spread on the ground, where he sate down with a great majesty, taking a pipe of tobacco, the rest of his company standing about him. After he had rested awhile, he rose and made signs to us to come to his town. He went foremost and all the rest of his people and ourselves followed him up a steep hill, where his palace was settled. We passed through the woods in fine paths, having most pleasant springs, which issued from the mountains. We also went through the goodliest corn-fields that ever were seen in any country. When we came to Rappahanna town he entertained us in good humanity."

When this hospitable, unsophisticated chief was piping a welcome to the English, how little did he anticipate the scenes which were to ensue!

On the 8th of May, they went further up the river to the country of the Appomattocks, who came forth to meet them "with bows and arrows in a most warlike manner, with the swords at their backs, beset with sharp stones and pieces of iron able to cleave a

* Called by Percy, in his *Narrative*, Rappahannas, but as no such tribe is mentioned by Smith as being found near the James river, they were probably the Quiyougheohanoeks, who dwelt on the North side of the river, about ten miles above Jamestown.—*Smith*, vol. 1, p. 140-1.

† Chief.

man in sunder." The English making signs of peace, were suffered to land unmolested.*

At length they selected for the site of the Colony, a peninsula on the North side of the James river and about forty miles from its mouth. In honor of the reigning king, they named it Jamestown. It belonged to the country of the Paspaheghs. The situation eligible in some points, was, however, extremely unhealthy. They landed at Jamestown on the 13th day of May, 1607. This was the first permanent settlement effected by the English in North America, after the lapse of one hundred and ten years from the discovery of the Continent by the Cabots, and twenty-two years after the first attempt to colonize it, made under the auspices of Walter Raleigh.

Upon landing, the council took the oath of office; Edward Maria Wingfield, a London merchant, † was elected President,—the first executive officer in Virginia. Thomas Studley was made cape merchant or treasurer of the Colony. Smith was excluded from his seat in the council, upon some false pretences.

CHAPTER IV.

1607—1608.

Newport and Smith with a party explore the James to the Falls; Powhatan; Jamestown assaulted by Indians; Smith's Voyages up the Chickahominy; Murmurs against him; Again explores the Chickahominy; Made prisoner; Carried captive through the country; Taken to Werowocomoco; Rescued by Pocahontas; Returns to Jamestown; Fire there; Rage for gold-hunting; Newport visits Powhatan; Newport's departure; Affairs at Jamestown.

All hands now fell to work; the council planning a fort, the rest clearing ground for pitching tents, preparing clapboard for freighting the vessels, laying off gardens, weaving fish-nets, &c.

The Indians frequently visited them in a friendly way. The President's overweening jealousy would allow no military exercise or fortification, save the boughs of trees, thrown together in a half-moon, by the energy of Cap-

* Percy's *Narrative*.

† Hillard's *Life of Smith*. 2 Sparks' Amer. Biog. 209.

tain Kendall. April 22nd, Newport, Smith and twenty others were despatched to discover the head of the river on which they were seated,—called by the Indians Powhatan, by the English the James. The natives every where received them kindly, dancing and feasting them with bread, fish, strawberries, mulberries, &c., for which Newport requited them with bells, pins, needles, beads and looking-glasses, which so pleased them, that they followed the strangers from place to place. In six days they reached a town called Powhatan, one of the seats of the great chief of that name, whom they found there. It consisted of twelve wigwams, pleasantly seated on a bold range of hills overlooking the river, with three islets in front, and many corn fields around. This picturesque spot lies on the North bank of the river, about a mile below the falls, and still bears the name of Powhatan.* The party visited the falls and erected a cross there, to indicate the furtherest point of discovery.† Newport presented Powhatan with a gown and a hatchet. Upon their return, at Weyanoke, within twenty miles of Jamestown, the Indians first gave cause for distrust. Arriving at Jamestown the next day, they found seventeen men, including the greater part of the council, wounded and a boy slain by the savages. During the assault, a cross-bar shot from one of the vessels, struck down a bough of a tree amongst them and made them retire. But for that, all the settlers would probably have been massacred, as they were planting corn in security without arms. Wingfield now consented that the fort should be palisaded, cannon mounted, and the men armed and exercised. The attacks and ambuscades of the natives were frequent, and the English, by their careless straggling, were often wounded, while the fleet-footed savages easily escaped.

Thus the Colonists endured continual hardships, guarding the workmen by day and keeping watch by night. Six weeks being thus spent, Newport was now about to return to England. Now ever since their departure from the Canaries, Smith had been in a sort of duress upon the scandalous charges of some of the leading men in the

expedition. Envyng his superiority, they gave out that he was meditating to usurp the government, murder the council and make himself king; that his confederates were dispersed in the three vessels, and that divers of them who had revealed it, would now confirm it. Upon these accusations, Smith had been arrested, and had now lain for more than three months under these suspicions. Newport being about to embark for England, Smith's accusers affected through pity to refer him to the council in England, rather than overwhelm him on the spot, by an exposure of his criminal designs. Smith, however, defied their malice, defeated their machinations, and so bore himself in the whole affair, that all saw his innocence and the malignity of his enemies. Those suborned to accuse him, charged his enemies with subornation of perjury. Kendall, the chief of them, was adjudged to pay him two hundred pounds in damages, which, however, Smith at once contributed to the common stock of the colony. During these disputes, Hunt,* the chaplain, used his exertions to reconcile the parties, and at his instance, Smith was admitted into the council on the 14th day of June, and on the next day they all received the communion.† On the 16th, the Indians sued for peace, and on the 22nd Newport weighed anchor, leaving at Jamestown one hundred settlers with provision for more than three months.

Not long after Newport's departure, a fatal sickness began to prevail at Jamestown, engendered by the insalubrity of the place, and the scarcity and bad quality of their food. For some time the daily allowance for each man was a pint of damaged wheat, or barley. "Our drinke was water, and our lodgings Castles in the ayre." From May to September fifty persons, or one half of the Colony, died. The rest subsisted upon sturgeon, or crabs. Wingfield, the President, not content with engrossing the public store of provisions, now undertook to escape from the Colony and return to England in the pinnace. Baseness so extreme aroused the in-

* Smith 46 says, "This place I judge to be either Mrs. Mayo's or Waring's plantation."

* This exemplary man never returned to England, but how long he survived in Virginia is not known. It is probable that the first marriage in the colony was solemnized by him.—*Hawks' Narrative*, 22.

† *Newes from Virginia*, by Captain John Smith, p. 5.

† Smith, Vol. 1, p. 153.

dignation even of the emaciated Colonists. They deposed Wingfield, and put Captain John Ratcliffe in his place. Kendall, a confederate of Wingfield, was displaced from the council. Among the victims to disease was Bartholomew Gosnold, the projector of the expedition—a name worthy to be ranked with Smith and Raleigh. The sick during this calamitous season received the faithful attentions of Thomas Wotton, surgeon-general.

At length their stores were exhausted, the sturgeon gone, all effort abandoned, and an attack from the savages each moment expected, when a benevolent Providence put it into the hearts of the Indians to supply the famished Colony with an abundance of fruits and provision.

Weak minds in trying scenes pay an involuntary homage to superior genius. Ratcliffe, the new President, and Martin, finding themselves unpopular and incompetent, entrusted the helm of affairs to Smith. He set the Colonists to work, some to mow, others to build houses and thatch them, himself always bearing the heaviest task. Thus in a short time habitations were provided for the greater part of them. A church was built at this time.*

Smith now embarked in a shallop in quest of supplies. Ignorance of the Indian language, want of sails for the boat, and apparel for the men, and their small force, were great impediments, but did not dishearten Smith. With a crew of six or seven, he went down the river to Kecoughtan, a town of eighteen cabins.† Here he replied to a scornful defiance by a volley of musketry, and capturing their okee, an idol stuffed with moss, painted and hung with copper chains,‡ so terrified them, that they brought him a supply of venison, turkeys, wild-fowl and bread. On his return he discovered the town and country of Warraskoyack, or Warrasqueake. After this, in several journeys, he discovered the people of Chickahominy river. During his absence, Wingfield and Kendall seized the pinnace in order to escape to England. But Smith returning unexpectedly, opened so hot a fire upon them, as compelled them

to stay or sink. Kendall was tried by a jury, convicted and shot.* Not long after, Ratcliffe and Captain Gabriel Archer made a similar attempt—and it was foiled by Smith.

At the approach of winter the rivers of Virginia abounded with wild-fowl, and the English now were well supplied with bread, peas, pumpkins, persimmons, fish and game. But this plenty did not last long, for what Smith carefully provided, the Colonists carelessly wasted.

The council now began to mutter complaints against Smith for not discovering the source of the Chickahominy. It was supposed that the South Sea lay not far distant, and that a communication with it would be found by some river running from the North West. The Chickahominy flowed in this direction, and hence, ludicrous as the idea now appears, the anxiety to trace that river to its head.

Smith to allay the dissatisfaction of the council, made another voyage up that river and proceeded until it became necessary, in order to pass, to cut away trees which had fallen across the stream. When at last the barge could advance no farther, he moored her in a broad bay out of danger, and leaving orders to his men not to venture on shore until his return, with two of his party and two Indians he went higher up in a canoe. He had not been long absent before the men left in the barge went ashore, when one of them, George Cassen, was slain by the savages. Smith, in the meanwhile, not suspecting this disaster, reached the marshy ground towards the head of the river and went out with his gun to provide food for the party. During his excursion two of his men, Jehu Robinson and Thomas Emry, were slain, (as he supposed,) while sleeping by the canoe. Smith was himself attacked by a numerous body of Indians, two of whom he killed with a pistol. He protected himself from their arrows by binding his savage guide to his arm with one of his garters and using him as a buckler. Many arrows pierced his clothes, and some slightly wounded him. Endeavor-

* Stith, vol. I, p. 170.

† Newes from Virginia, p. 6.

‡ Smith, vol. I, p. 156.

* Newes from Virginia, p. 7. Hillard in his Life of Smith, p. 228, says—"In the action Captain Kendall was slain," being no doubt misled by the expression in Smith, "which *action* cost the life of Captaine Kendall." By the word "action" here Smith intended his conduct. Bancroft, vol. I, p. 129, has fallen into the same mistake with Hillard.

ing to reach his canoe, and walking backwards, with his eye still fixed on his pursuers, he sunk to his waist in an oozy creek, and his savage with him. Nevertheless the Indians were afraid to approach him, until, being now half-dead with cold, he threw away his arms. Then they drew him forth and led him to the fire, where his two companions were lying dead. Here they chased his benumbed limbs, and restored the vital heat. Smith now enquiring for their chief, they pointed him to Opechancanough, King of Pamunkey. Smith presented him a mariner's compass; the vibrations of the needle astonished the untutored sons of the forest. In a short time they bound the prisoner to a tree and were about to shoot him, when Opechancanough holding up the compass, they all laid down their bows and arrows. Then marching in single file, they led Smith, guarded by fifteen men, about six miles to Orapakes, a hunting town in the upper part of Chickahominy Swamp, and about twelve miles north-east from the falls of James river. This town consisted of thirty or forty houses, built like arbors, and covered with mats. The women and children came forth to meet them, staring in amazement at Smith.* Opechancanough and his followers performed their military exercises and joined in the war-dance. The captive was confined in a "long house," under a guard of forty men. An enormous quantity of bread and venison was set before him, as if to fatten him for sacrifice, or because they supposed that a superior being required a proportionate supply of food. An Indian, named Maocassater, who had received some toys from Smith at Jamestown, now in return brought him a warm garment of fur,—a pleasing instance of gratitude, a sentiment often found even in the breast of a savage. Another Indian, whose son had been mortally wounded by Smith, made an attempt to kill him in revenge and was only prevented by the interposition of his guards.† Opechancanough now meditating an assault upon Jamestown, undertook to entice Smith to join him by offers of life, liberty, land and women. Being now allowed to send a message to Jamestown, he wrote a note on a leaf of a book, giving information of the intended assault and directing

what means should be employed to strike terror into the messengers, and what presents should be sent. Three men were despatched with the note. They returned with an answer and the presents in three days, notwithstanding the rigor of the season, it being the midst of the winter of 1607, remarkable for its severity ‡ and the ground being covered with snow. Opechancanough and his people looked upon their captive as some supernatural being, and were filled with new wonder on seeing how the "paper could speake." Abandoning the scheme of attacking Jamestown, they conducted Smith through the country of the Youghtanunds, Mattapanients, Payanketanks, Nantaughtacunds and Onawmanients, on the banks of the Rappahannock and Potomac. Thence he was taken back to Pamaunkee, (now Westpoint,) at the junction of the Mataponi and Pamunkey—the residence of Opechancanough. Here, for three days, they engaged in infernal orgies and incantations, with a view to divine their captive's secret designs, whether friendly or hostile. They also showed him a bag of gunpowder, which they were keeping 'till the next spring to plant, as it was an article they were desirous to propagate. Smith was kindly entertained by Opitchapan, (Opechancanough's brother,) who dwelt a little above on the Pamunkey. Finally Smith was taken to Werowocomoco, a favorite seat of Powhatan on the York river—then called the Pamaunkee or Pamunkey. They found this savage emperor in his rude palace, reclining before a fire, on a sort of throne resembling a bedstead covered with mats, and wearing a long robe of raccoon skins. At his head sate a young female and another at his feet. On each side of the house sate the men in rows, on mats, and behind them as many young women, their heads and shoulders painted red, some with their heads adorned with the snowy down of birds, and all wearing a necklace of white beads. On Smith's entrance they all raised a terrific yell. The Queen of Appomattock brought him water to wash and another a bunch of feathers for a towel. After feasting him, a long consultation was held. That ended, two large stones were brought and the one laid on the other before Powhatan; then as many as could lay hold, seizing, dragged him to the

* Newes from Va., p. 8.

† Newes from Va., p. 9

‡ Martin's Hist. N. Carolina, I., 61.

stones, and laying his head on them, snatched up their war-clubs, and brandishing them in the air, were about to slay him, when Pocahontas, (Powhatan's favorite daughter,) a girl of only twelve or thirteen years of age, * finding all her entreaties unavailing, flew and at the hazard of her life, clasped his head in her arms and laid her own upon his. The stern heart of Powhatan was touched—he relented and consented that the captive might live to make tomahaws for him and beads and bells for Pocahontas. † This scene occurred at Werowocomoco, on the North side of York river, in what is now Gloucester county, about twenty-five miles below the fork of the river, and "near a bay into which three creeks empty." ‡

The lapse of time will continually heighten the interest of Werowocomoco and in ages of the distant future, the traveller will linger at the spot graced with the charms of nature and endeared by recollections of the heroic tenderness of Pocahontas.

Within two days after Smith's rescue, Powhatan suffered him to return to Jamestown, on condition of sending him two great guns and a grindstone, for which he promised to give him the country of Capahowosick in the neighborhood of Worowocomoco, and forever esteem him as his own son Nantaquoud. Smith was accompanied by twelve guides. § On the first night they quartered in some old

hunting cabins of Paspahegh; they reached Jamestown the next morning about sun-rise. During the journey Smith had expected every moment to be put to death. After an absence of seven weeks, he was joyfully welcomed back by all except Archer and two or three of his confederates. Newport arrived that night from England with part of the first supply. Smith now treated the guides kindly, and shewing Rawhun, a favorite servant of Powhatan, two pieces of cannon and a grindstone, gave him leave to carry them home to his master. A cannon was then loaded with stones and discharged among the boughs of a tree, hung with icicles, when the Indians fled in terror. Upon being persuaded to return, they received presents for Powhatan, his wives and children and departed.

The number of the Colonists was now reduced to forty. Within five or six days after Smith's return, Jamestown was destroyed by an accidental fire. The houses being thatched with reeds, the flames spread even to the palisades eight or ten yards distant. Arms, bedding, apparel and provisions were consumed. "Good Master Hunt, our Preacher, lost all his library and all he had but the clothes on his backe: yet none never heard him repine at his losse. This happened in the winter in that extreame frost 1607." Another attempt of some male-contents to escape in the pinnace was baffled by the prudent energy of Smith.

The disastrous fire reduced the Colonists to such want, and exposed them to such hardships in the rigors of that winter, as cut off one-half of their number. Pocahontas, however, with her tawny attendants, frequently visited Jamestown with presents of bread, venison and raccoons, sent by Powhatan for Smith and Newport. Without this timely succor, the Colony must have perished by famine.

Of the one hundred first settlers, the greater part were gentlemen, * some dissolute, some effeminate, and they now suddenly found themselves in a remote wilderness encompassed by want, exposure, fatigue and danger. Newport's arrival at first cheered

* Smith, v. 2, p. 30. In Newes from Va., Smith calls her "a child of tenne years old." This was a mistake.

† Smith, v. 1, p. 162.

‡ Stith, 53. This writer adds, that "Werowocomoco was nearly opposite the mouth of Queen's creek," which I can not help thinking is inaccurate. Smith in Newes from Va., p. 11, says, "the bay where he, (Powhatan,) dwelleth hath in it three creeks." I have visited that part of Gloucester county and am satisfied that Timber-neck bay is the one referred to by Smith. On the East bank of this bay stands an old chimney, known as "Powhatan's chimney," and its site corresponds exactly with Werowocomoco, as laid down on Smith's map. According to Smith, in his Gen'l Hist., p. 117, Werowocomoco was situated "about 25 miles" below the head of York river. Now, according to Martin's Gazetteer, the York river is 39 miles in length, and Yorktown 11 miles from the mouth. Yorktown is by consequence 28 miles below the head of the river, and Yorktown being about 4 miles below the "chimney," it is about 24 miles below the head of the river.

§ Smith, v. 1, p. 163. Newes from Va., p. 10, has it: "hee sent me home with four men that usually carried my gowne and knapsack after me, two other loaded with bread and one to accompane me." There are several discrepancies between the General History and Newes from Va., which it is not easy to account for.

* See List of the first Planters, Smith, vol. I, p. 153. Of the whole number, 100, 78 are classified, of whom 54 were gentlemen, 4 carpenters, 12 laborers, a blacksmith, a sailor, a barber, a bricklayer, a mason, a tailor, a drummer, and a "chirurgeon."

the unhappy Colony, but its miseries were soon aggravated by the delusive rage for gold. "There was no talke, no hope, no worke, but dig gold, wash gold, refine gold, loade gold." Smith, not indulging in these empty dreams of imaginary wealth, laughed at their infatuation in loading "such a drunken ship with gilded dust."

Newport, not long after his arrival, accompanied by Smith and thirty or forty picked men, visited Powhatan. Upon their arrival at Werowocomoco, Smith landed with twenty men. Crossing several creeks on bridges of poles and bark, they were met and escorted to the town * by Opechancanough, Nontaquans, Powhatan's son, and two hundred warriors. Powhatan was found seated at the farther end of the house on his throne-like bed of mats, his pillow of leather rudely embroidered with pearl and beads. More than forty trays of bread stood without, in rows, on each side of the door. Four or five hundred Indians were present. Some days were passed in feasting, dancing and trading, in which last Powhatan displayed a curious mixture of cunning and pride. Smith gave him a suit of red cloth, a white greyhound and a hat. Charmed with some blue beads, for one or two pounds of them he gave in exchange two or three hundred bushels of corn. Newport presented him a boy named Thomas Savage in return for an Indian named Namontack. Smith acted as interpreter. The English next visited Opechancanough at his seat, Pamunkey. The blue beads now came to be in great request, and none dared to wear them save the chiefs and their families. †

After Newport's return to Jamestown and when about to sail for England, he received a present of twenty turkies from Powhatan, to whom twenty swords were sent in return. This fowl, peculiar to America, had been many years before carried to England by some of the early discoverers. ‡ "Captain Newport being ready to sail for England, and

we not having any use of parliaments, plaises, petitions, admiralls, recorders, interpreters, chronologers, courts of plea, nor justices of peace, sent master Wingfield and Captain Archer home with him, that had ingrossed all those titles, to seeke some better place of imployment." * Newport returned to England. Ratcliffe, the president, lived in luxurious ease, peculating on the public store. Upon the approach of spring, Smith and Scrivener, newly made one of the council, undertook to rebuild Jamestown, repair the palisades, fell trees, prepare the fields, plant corn and erect another church. Captain Nelson at length arrived with the *Phœnix*, which had been supposed to be lost at sea. She brought the remainder of the first supply, which altogether comprised one hundred and twenty settlers. Nelson having found provisions in the West Indies had husbanded his own, and now imparted them generously to the Colony, so that now there was a store sufficient for half a year. †

Smith found it necessary to inflict severe chastisement on some of the Indians and to imprison others, to deter them from stealing arms. Pocahontas "not only for feature, countenance and proportion, much exceedeth any of the rest of his people, but for wit and spirit the only Nonpareil of his country." Powhatan hearing that some of his people were kept prisoners at Jamestown, sent her with Rawhunt, (who was as remarkable "for deformitie of person, but of a subtil wit and crafty understanding,") with presents of a deer and bread to procure their ransom. They were released, and the youthful embassador was dismissed with presents. ‡

The *Phœnix* sailed freighted with cedar. Martin returned in her. §

* Smith, vol. 1, p. 168-9. Chalmers' Political Annals, p. 20.

† Smith, v. I., p. 170. On p. 172 is a list of the settlers brought out by Newport and Nelson. Of the whole number, 120, there were thirty-three gentlemen, twenty-one laborers, (some of these really only footmen,) six tailors, two apothecaries, two jewellers, two gold refiners, two goldsmiths, a gunsmith, a perfumer, a "chirurgeon," a cooper, a tobacco-pipe-maker, and a blacksmith.

‡ Newes from Virginia, p. 17.

§ Smith, v. 1, p. 165.

* Newes from Virginia, p. 11.

† Smith, vol. 1, p. 168.

‡ Grahame's Col. Hist. U. S., Amer. Ed., v. 1, p. 28 in note.

CHAPTER V.

1608.

Smith's first Exploring Voyage up the Chesapeake Bay; Smith's Isles; Accomac; Tangier Islands; Wighcocomoco; Watkins' Point; Keale's Hill; Point Poyer; Watts' Islands; Cuskarawaok river; The Patapsco; Potomac; Quiough; Stingray Island; Smith returns to Jamestown; His second voyage up Chesapeake Bay; The Massawomeks; The Indians on the river Tockwogh; Sasquesahannocks; Peregrine's Mount; Wiloughby river; The Patuxent; The Rappahannock; The Pianketank; Elizabeth river; Nansemond river; Return to Jamestown; The Hudson river discovered.

On the second day of June, 1608, Smith with a company of fourteen, including Dr. Walter Russel, who had recently arrived, left Jamestown for the purpose of exploring the Chesapeake bay. He embarked in an open barge of less than three tons. Crossing over from Cape Henry to the Eastern Shore, they discovered and named after their commander, "Smith's Isles." At Cape Charles they met grim, athletic savages, with bone-headed spears in their hands. They directed the English to the dwelling-place of the Weroance of Accomac, who was found courteous and friendly and the handsomest savage they had yet seen. His country was pleasant, fertile and intersected by creeks, affording good harbors for small craft. The people spoke the language of Powhatan. Smith pursuing his voyage, came upon some uninhabited isles, which were then named after Dr. Russel, surgeon of the party,—but known now as Tangier Islands.* Searching for fresh water, they fell in with the river Wighcocomoco, now called Pocomoke. The northern point at the mouth, was called Watkins' Point, and a hill on the south side of Pocomoke bay, Keale's Hill, after two of the soldiers in the barge. Leaving that river they came to a high promontory named Point Poyer, in honor of a French nobleman, a former friend of Smith. There they found a pond of hot water. In a thunder-storm the barge's mast and sail were blown overboard. Narrowly escaping the fury of the elements, they found it necessary to remain two days on an island, which they named Limbo, but now known as one of Watts' Islands. Repairing the sail with their shirts, they visited

a river on the Eastern Shore, called Cuskarawaok, and now, by a singular transposition of names, called Wighcocomoco. Here the natives ran along the banks in amazement, some climbing to the tops of trees and shooting their arrows at the strangers. On the next day, a volley of musquetry dispersed the savages. On the bank of the river, the English found some cabins, in which they left pieces of copper, beads, bells and looking-glasses. On the next day several thousand men, women and children thronged around the English, with many expressions of friendship. These savages were of the tribes Nause, Sarapinagh, Arseek and Nantaquak, of all others the most expert in trade. They wore the finest furs and manufactured a great deal of Roenoke or Indian money. They were people of small stature, like those of Wighcocomoco. The Eastern Shore of the bay was found low and well-wooded; the western well-watered, but hilly and barren,—the vallies, however, fruitful, but thickly wooded and abounding in deer, wolves, bears and other wild animals. A navigable stream was called Bolns, from a parti-colored, gum-like clay found on its banks. It is now known as the Patapsco. *

The party having been about a fortnight voyaging in an open boat, fatigued at the oar and subsisting on mouldy bread, now importuned Smith to return to Jamestown. He at first refused, but shortly after, the sickness of his men and the unfavorable weather compelled him to turn back, † where the bay was found nine miles wide, and nine or ten fathoms deep. On the sixteenth of June, they fell in with the mouth of the Potomac, where it appeared to be seven miles wide. The magnificence of that majestic river reanimated their drooping spirits, and the sick having now recovered, they agreed to explore the Potomac. About thirty miles above the mouth, two Indians conducted them up a small creek towards Nominy. The banks swarmed with thousands of the natives, who, with painted bodies and hideous yells, seemed so many demons let loose from hell. Their noisy threats were soon silenced by the glancing of the English bullets on the water and the report of muskets re-echoing in the forests. The astonished red men drop-

* Stith, p. 64.

† Smith, vol. I, p. 173.

ped their bows and arrows, and hostages being exchanged, received the whites kindly. Towards the head of the Potomac they met some canoes laden with bear, deer, and other game, which the savages shared with the English. On their return down the river, Japazaws, king of Potomac, gave them guides to conduct them up the river Quiyough, * in quest of Matchqueon, a mine which they had heard of. They left the Indian hostages in the barge, secured by a small chain, with which they were pleased to be adorned, and which they were to have for their pains. The mine turned out to be worthless. It contained a sort of antimony used by the natives to paint themselves and their idols. It made "them look like blackamoors dusted over with silver." Newport had taken some bags of it to England as containing silver. The wild animals observed were the beaver, otter, mink, martin and bear; of fish they met with great numbers, sometimes lying in such schools near the surface, that in absence of nets they undertook to catch them with a frying pan;—but plenty as they were, it was found that they "were not to be *caught* with frying pans." The barge running aground at the mouth of the Rappahannock, Smith amused himself "spearing" them with his sword. In taking one from its point it stung him in the wrist. In a little while the symptoms proved so alarming that his companions concluded his death to be at hand, and sorrowfully prepared his grave in a neighboring island by his directions. But by Dr. Russel's judicious treatment he quickly recovered and supped that evening upon the offending fish. † This incident gave its name to Stingray Island.

The barge returned to Jamestown on the 21st July. Here sickness and discontent were found prevalent. Ratcliffe, the President, was deposed in favor of Smith, who of the council was next entitled to succeed. Smith, however, substituted Scrivener in his stead and embarked to complete his discoveries. ‡

On the 24th of July Smith again set out

* Stith, p. 65, takes this to be Potomac Creek. Japazaws lived at the mouth of it.

† This fish was of the ray species, "much of the fashion of a thorn-back, but a long tuile like a riding rodde, whereon the middest is a most poisoned sting of two or three inches long, bearded like a saw on each side."

‡ Smith, vol. I, p. 181.

for the Chesapeake bay. His company consisted of six gentlemen and as many soldiers. Detained some days at Kiquotan, they astonished the Indians there by a display of rockets. Reaching the head of the bay, they met seven or eight canoes, manned by Massawomeks, * who presented Smith venison, bear's meat, fish, bows, arrows, clubs, targets and bearskins. On the river Tockwogh, (now Sassafrass,) they came upon an Indian town fortified with a palisade and breast-works. Here men, women and children came forth to welcome the whites with songs and dances, offering them fruits, furs, and whatever they had, spreading mats for them to sit on, and in every way expressing their friendship.

They had tomahawks, knives, and pieces of iron and brass, which, as they alleged, they had procured from the Sasquesahannocks, a mighty people dwelling two days journey distant on the Susquehannah. † Two interpreters were despatched to invite them to visit the English. In three or four days, sixty of that gigantic people arrived with presents of venison, tobacco-pipes three feet long, baskets, targets, bows and arrows. Five of their chiefs embarked in the barge to cross the bay. It was Smith's custom daily to have prayers in the barge with a psalm. The savages were filled with wonder at this, and in their turn commenced a sort of adoration, holding their hands up to the sun and chanting a wild and unearthly song. They then embraced Captain Smith, adoring him in the like manner, and overwhelming him with a profusion of presents and abject homage.

The highest mountain seen by the English to the Northward, they named Peregrine's mount. Willoughby river derived its name from Captain Smith's native town in England. At the furtherest points of discovery crosses were cut in the bark of trees, or brass crosses were left. ‡ The people on the Patuxent were found "very tractable and more civil than any." On the banks of the Rappahannock, Smith and his party were kindly treated by the Moraughtacunds. Here the English met with Mosco, one of the Wighcocomocoes. He was remarkable for a bushy black beard, whereas the savages in

* Supposed to be the same with the Iroquois, or Five Nations. Stith, p. 67.

† Suckahanna in the Powhatan language signified "water." Smith, vol. I, p. 147.

‡ Smith, vol. I, p. 183.

general had little or none. Mosco proved to be of great service to the English in exploring the Rappahannock. Mr. Richard Fetherstone, a gentleman of the company, died during this part of the voyage and was buried on the banks of this river, where a bay was named after him. The river was explored to the falls, (near Fredericksburg,) where a skirmish took place with the Rappahannocks.

Smith next explored the Pianketank. The natives were for the most part absent hunting; a few women, and children, and old men were left to tend the corn. Returning thence, the barge encountered a tremendous thunder-storm in Gosnold's bay. Running before the wind, they could only catch fitful glimpses of the land by the flashes of lightning, which saved them from dashing to pieces on the shore, and directed them to Point Comfort. They next visited Chesapeake, now Elizabeth river, on which Norfolk stands. Six or seven miles from the mouth of this river, they came upon two or three cultivated patches and cabins. Next they sailed seven or eight miles up the Nansemond and found its banks consisting mainly of oyster-shells. After a skirmish with the Chesapeakes and Nansemonds, Smith procured as much corn as he could carry away. September 7th, 1608, they arrived at Jamestown. There they found some recovered, others still sick, many dead, Ratcliffe, the late President, under arrest for mutiny, the harvest gathered, but the provisions damaged by rain.

During that summer, Smith with a few men, in a small barge, in his several voyages of discovery, traversed not less than three thousand miles.* He had been at Jamestown only three days in three months and had, during this time, explored the whole of the Chesapeake bay and of the country lying on its shores and made a map of them.

[1608.] Captain Henry Hudson, an English navigator, in the service of the Dutch, discovered the beautiful river of that name. The Dutch afterwards erected, near its mouth, the cabins of New Amsterdam, the germ of New York.

* Smith, vol. 1, p. 191. Chalmers' Political Annals, p. 21.

CHAPTER VI.

1608.

Smith President; Affairs at Jamestown; Newport arrives with the second supply; His instructions; The first English women in Virginia; Smith visits Werowocomoco; Entertained by Pocahontas; His interview with Powhatan; Coronation of Powhatan; Newport explores the Monacan country; Smith's discipline; Affairs at Jamestown; Newport's return; Smith's letter to the Council; The first Marriage in Virginia; Smith again visits Powhatan.

Smith had hitherto declined, but now consented to undertake the office of president. Ratcliffe was under arrest for mutiny. The building of the fine house, which he had commenced for himself in the woods, was discontinued, the church repaired, the store-house newly covered, magazines for supplies erected, the fort reduced to a pentagon figure, the watch renewed, troops trained and the whole company mustered every Saturday in the plain by the west bulwark, called "Smithfield." There sometimes more than a hundred dark-eyed, tawny Indians would stand in amazement, to see a file of soldiers batter a tree, where a target was set up to shoot at.

Newport now arrived from England with a second supply. He brought out also presents for Powhatan, a bason and ewer, bed, bedstead and suit of scarlet clothes. Newport, upon this voyage, had procured a private commission, in which he pledged himself to perform one of three impossibilities, for he engaged not to return without either a lump of gold, a certainty of the South Sea, or one of Sir Walter Raleigh's lost colonists. Newport brought also orders to discover the Manakin (originally Monacan) country, and a barge constructed so as to be taken to pieces, which they were to carry to the falls to convey them to the South Sea!* The cost of the voyage was two thousand pounds, and the company ordered that the vessels should be sent back freighted with cargoes of corresponding value, and threatened, in case of a failure, "that they should be left in

* Vasco Nunez in 1513, crossing the Isthmus of Darien, from a mountain discovered, on the other side of the continent, an ocean which from the direction in which he saw it, took the name of the South Sea.—*Robertson, cited by Belknap, v. 1, p. 62.*

Virginia as banished men." The company had been deeply incensed by a letter received by * Lord Salisbury, Secretary of State, reporting that the planters intended to divide the country among themselves. It is altogether improbable that they had conceived any design of appropriating a country which so few of them were willing to cultivate and from which so many were anxious to escape. The folly of the instructions was only surpassed by the inhumanity of the threat. † Newport brought over with him Captains Peter Wynne and Richard Waldo, two veteran soldiers and valiant gentlemen, Francis West, brother of Lord Delaware, Raleigh Crashaw, Thomas Forest, with Mrs. Forest and Anne Burras her maid, the first English women that ever set their feet on the Virginia soil. ‡ Some Poles and Germans were sent out to make pitch, tar, glass, soap, ashes and mills. Waldo and Wynne were admitted into the Council. Ratcliffe was restored to his seat.

The time appointed for Powhatan's coronation now drawing near, Smith, accompanied by Captain Waldo and three others, went overland from Jamestown to Werowocomoco, distant about twelve miles. They crossed the river in an Indian canoe. Upon reaching Werowocomoco, Powhatan being found absent was sent for. In the meantime Smith and his comrades were entertained by Pocahontas and her nymphs. They made a fire in a level field and Smith sate on a mat before it. A hideous noise and shrieking were suddenly heard in the adjoining woods. The English snatched up their arms and seized two or three aged Indians. But Pocahontas immediately came and protested to Smith that he might slay her if any surprize was intended, and he was quickly satisfied that his apprehensions were groundless. Then thirty young women emerged from the woods, all naked save a cincture of green leaves, their bodies painted. Pocahontas wore on her head a beautiful pair of buck's-horns, an otter's skin at her girdle and another on her arm; a quiver hung on her shoulder and she held a bow and arrow in

her hand. Of the other nymphs, one held a sword, another a club, a third a pot-stick, with the antlers of the deer on their heads and a variety of other savage ornaments. Bursting from the forest like so many fiends with unearthly shrieks, they circled around the fire, singing and dancing. The dance was continued for an hour, when they again retired to the woods. Next they invited Smith to their habitations, where, as soon as he entered, they all crowded around, hanging about him, with cries of "love you not me?—love you not me?" They then feasted him, some serving, others singing and dancing. Lastly, with torches of lightwood, they escorted him to his lodging.

On the next day Powhatan arrived. Smith informed him of the presents that had been sent out for him, restored to him Namontack, who had been taken to England, and invited the emperor, (as he was styled,) to visit Jamestown, to accept the presents, and, with Newport's aid, to revenge himself upon his enemies, the Monacans. He refused to visit Jamestown, saying that he too was a king, but agreed to wait eight days to receive the presents. As for the Monacans, he avowed that he was able to avenge his grievances himself. In regard to the salt water beyond the mountains, of which Smith had spoken, Powhatan denied that there was any such, and drew lines of those regions on the ground. Smith returned to Jamestown. The presents were sent to Werowocomoco by water, near a hundred miles, while Newport and Smith, with fifty men, proceeded thither by land.*

All being assembled at Werowocomoco, the next day was appointed for the coronation. The presents were delivered to Powhatan—a basin, ewer, bed and furniture ready set up. A scarlet cloak and suit of apparel were with difficulty put upon him, Namontack insisting that it would not hurt him. Strenuous efforts were found necessary to make him kneel to receive the crown. At last, by dint of persuasions and pressing hard upon his shoulders, he was induced reluctantly to stoop a little. Three of the English then placed the crown on his head. At an appointed signal a volley of musquetry was fired from the boats, and Powhatan started from his seat in momentary alarm. He presented his old moccasins and mantle

* Sir Robert Cecil.

† Smith, p. 82. "History of the Revolt of the American Colonies," by George Chalmers, vol. 1, p. 3. Chalmers' Political Annals, p. 23.

‡ Smith, vol. 1, p. 193. By "Virginia soil" of course is meant the soil of Virginia *proper*.

* Smith, vol. 1, p. 149. Chalmers' Polit. Annals, p. 23.

to Newport and some corn, but refused to allow him any guides except Namontack. Newport returned to Jamestown. Shortly afterwards he explored the Monacan country with one hundred and twenty men, commanded by Captain Waldo, Lieutenant Percy, Captain Wynne, Mr. West and Mr. Scrivener.

Smith with eighty or ninety men, some sick, some feeble, was left at Jamestown. Newport passing by the falls of James river, proceeded forty miles beyond on the South side and returned by the same route. He discovered Massinacak and Mowchemenchouch. The natives, "the stoics of the woods," evinced neither friendship nor enmity. The English, out of abundant caution, took one of their chiefs and led him bound at once a hostage and a guide.

Upon Newport's return to Jamestown, Smith, the president, set some of the colonists to make glass, others to prepare tar, pitch and soap-ashes, while he, in person, conducted thirty of them five miles below the fort, to fell trees and prepare plank. Two of this party were young gentlemen brought out in the last supply. Smith sharing labor and hardship in common with the rest, these woodmen soon became reconciled to the novel task and listened with pleasure to the crashing thunder of the falling trees. But when the axes began to blister their unaccustomed hands, oaths were heard reverberating in the forest. Smith taking measures to have the oaths of each one numbered, at night for each offence poured a can of water down the offender's sleeve. This put an end to the profanity.*

Smith procured a supply of corn from the Chickahominy. Upon his return, Newport and Ratcliffe, instigated by jealousy, attempted to depose him from the presidency, but he defeated their schemes. The colony suffered much loss at this time from an illicit trade carried on between the sailors of Newport's vessel, dishonest settlers and the savages.

Scrivener, by the aid of Namontack, procured from Werowocomoco a supply of corn and pucoons, a root used in dying.

Newport sailed for England, leaving two hundred souls at Jamestown. Ratcliffe, whose real name was found to be Sickle-

more, was sent back at the same time. Smith addressed a letter to the council in England, exhibiting the folly of expecting a present profitable return from the colony. He sent them also his map of the country,—made with so much exactness, that it has been taken as the groundwork of all succeeding maps of Virginia.* Not long after Newport's departure, Anne Burras was married at Jamestown to John Laydon—the first marriage in the colony. Smith, finding the provisions running low, made a voyage to Nansemond, and afterwards went up the James and discovered the river and people of Appomattox.† Their little corn they gave in exchange for copper and trinkets.

Powhatan sent an invitation to Smith to visit him and a request that he would send men to build him a house and give him a grindstone, fifty swords, some guns, a cock and hen, with much copper and many beads, in return for which he promised to load his vessel with corn. Having despatched a party to build the house,‡ Smith, accompanied by the brave Waldo, set out for Werowocomoco, on the 29th of December, with the pinnace and two barges, manned with forty-six men. Smith went in the barge with six gentlemen and as many soldiers. In the pinnace were Lieut. Percy and Francis West, with a number of gentlemen and soldiers. The little fleet dropping down the James, arrived the first night at Warrasqueake. Thence Sicklemoze, a veteran soldier, was despatched with two Indian guides to the Chowan in quest of Sir Walter Raleigh's lost company and of silk grass. Smith left Samuel Collier, his page, with the chief there, to learn the language. The English were detained by inclement weather a week at Kecoughtan and spent the Christmas holidays|| among

* Stith, p. 83. So says this accurate writer. But so rough and conjectural a chart is of course in many points inaccurate.

† Smith, vol. 1., p. 204. Hillard in his Life of Smith, p. 295, inadvertently says, that Smith, "accompanied by Captain Waldo, went up the bay in two barges. The Indians on all sides fled at the sight of them till they discovered the river and people of Appomattox."

‡ The Stone Chimney, (already referred to on a former page,) with an enormous fire-place, still standing near the mouth of Timber-neck creek in Gloucester county, called "Powhatan's Chimney"—is probably a relic of the house built for Powhatan.

|| Smith, vol. 1, p. 206. Some mistake here, for it is stated that they left Jamestown on the 29th of December.

the natives, feasting on oysters, fish, venison, wild-fowl and good bread. They enjoyed also excellent fires in the dry, smoky cabins. While there, two of the party killed one hundred and forty-eight wild-fowl in three shots.

At Kiskiack, (now Chesapeake,) * the severity of the cold again drove the English to shelter themselves in the Indian cabins. On the 12th of January, they reached Werowocomoco. The York was frozen over near a half mile from the shore. Smith, to lose no time, undertook to break his way through the ice; but the tide ebbing, left the barge aground on a shoal. In this dilemma, although the cold was extreme, Smith, jumping into the icy river, set the example to his men of wading near waist deep to the shore. Quartering in the first cabins they reached, they sent to Powhatan for provision. On the following day he supplied them abundantly with bread, wild turkeys and venison. Like Nestor of old, he somewhat extravagantly told Smith that he had seen the death of all his people thrice; that he was now old and must ere long die; that his brothers, Opitchapan, Opechancanough and Kekataugh, † his two sisters and their two daughters were to be his successors. Powhatan deprecated war, and declared, that when he and his people forced to fly, by fear of the English, lay in the woods, exposed to cold and hunger, "if a twig but break, every one crieth, there commeth Captaine Smith." At length, however, after a long dialogue, Powhatan still obstinately insisting that the English should lay aside their arms, Smith gave orders privately to his people in the boat to approach and capture him. Discovering their design he fled with his women and children, while his warriors beset the cabin where Smith was. With pistol, sword and target, he rushed out among them and fired; some fell one over another; the rest escaped. Powhatan finding himself in Smith's power, to make his peace, sent him by an aged orator a large bracelet and chain of pearl. In the meanwhile the savages "goodly well-proportioned fellows, as grim as Devils," carried the corn on their backs down to the boats. The bar-

ges of the English being in the meanwhile left aground by the ebb-tide, they were obliged to remain 'till the next high-water and accordingly returned ashore to lodge in some Indian cabins. Powhatan and the traitorous Dutchmen now plotted Smith's destruction. But "Pocahontas, his dearest iewell and daughter, in that darke night, came through the irksome woods and told our Captaine great cheare should be sent vs by and by; but Powhatan and all the power he could make, would after come kill vs all, if they that brought it could not kill vs with our owne weapons, when we were at supper. Therefore if we would liue, shee wished vs presently to be gone. Such things as she delighted in," Smith "would have given her, but with the teares running downe her cheekees, she said she durst not be scene to haue any, for if Powhatan should know it, she were but dead and so shee raune away by herselfe as she came." The attempt to surprise the English was soon made, but Smith forewarned, readily defeated the design. *

CHAPTER VII.

1608—1609.

Smith visits Pamaunkee; Seizes Opechancanough; Loss of Scrivener and his party; Smith goes back to Werowocomoco; Procures supplies; Returns to Jamestown; Smith's rencontre with the Chief of Paspahegh; Affairs of the Colony; A Fort built there; "The old Stone House;" Scarcity at Jamestown; The Colonists dispersed to procure subsistence; Tuckahoe root; Smith's discipline; Sicklemore's discoveries; Chief of the Quigougehannocks; The Virginia Company procures a New Charter; Its character; Lord Delaware appointed Governor; A fleet despatched for Virginia; Gates, Somers and Newport embark in the Sea-Adventure; She is cast away on the Island of Bermuda; Seven vessels reach Jamestown; Disorders that ensued; Smith arrests the ring-leaders; West with a detachment sent to the falls; Martin to Nansemond; Mutinous conduct of the Settlers; Smith's efforts to quell them; He embarks for Jamestown; Accidentally blown up with gun-powder; Arrives at Jamestown; Violence of the male-contents; Smith embarks for England; His character; Notice of his Life and Writings.

Smith, with Percy and fifteen others, went up to Pamaunkee, (West Point,) at the head of York river. Here they found Opechancan-

* An old church, not far from Yorktown, bears the name of "Chesapeake," pronounced "Cheese-cake."

† Smith, vol. 1, p. 208. Kekataugh is sometimes written Catabaugh, as in Stith, p. 87.

* Smith, vol. 1, p. 212.

nough's residence, a quarter of a mile back from the river. The chief of the warlike Pamunkies in a short time arrived, accompanied by his warriors, armed with bows and arrows. Several hundred of them surrounded the house where the English were. They growing alarmed, Smith exhorted them "to fight like men and not die like sheepe." The treachery of the savages being now manifest, Smith seized Opechancanough by his long lock of hair and with a cocked pistol at his breast, led him trembling in the midst of his people. Terrified he surrendered his vambrace, bow and arrows, while his astonished followers threw down their arms.

During this time Scrivener, at Jamestown, conceived a design of escaping from the presidency. But starting for Hog Island on a stormy day, in company of Captain Waldo, Anthony Gosnold and eight others, the boat sunk and all were lost. Richard Wyffin undertook to carry the intelligence to Smith. Wyffin, at Werowocomoco, was shielded from danger by Pocahontas, who in every emergency still proved herself the guardian angel of the infant colony.

Smith releasing Opechancanough now returned to Werowocomoco. On the following morning, a little after sunrise, the fields swarmed with Indians. Smith landed in company of Percy and two others. They were met by Powhatan with two or three hundred men, formed in two half-moons, with some twenty men and many women carrying painted baskets.

Discovering on a nearer approach the English in their boats with arms in their hands, the savages fled. However, for several ensuing days, from all parts of the country within a circle of ten or twelve miles, in the snow they brought on their naked backs provision for Smith's party.

The poor Indians on the Mattapony and Pamunkey rivers, gave up the little corn they had, with such lamentations and tears of women and children, as touched the hearts of the English with compassion.

In this expedition Smith, with twenty-five pounds of copper and fifty pounds of iron and some beads, procured in exchange two hundred pounds of deer suet and four hundred and seventy-nine bushels of corn.*

Shortly after Smith's return, he met the

chief of Paspahegh near Jamestown, and had a rencontre with him. This "most strong stout Salvage," forced Smith into the river in order to drown him. They grappled long in the water, at length Smith grasping him by the throat, well nigh strangled him, and drawing his falchion was about to cut off his head, when he begged so piteously for his life, that Smith spared it and led him prisoner to Jamestown, where he put him "in chaynes." He was daily visited by his wives and children and people, who brought presents to ransom him. At last he made his escape. Smith sent a party who burnt the chief's house and shortly after going out himself to "try his conclusions" with the "salvages," slew seven of the Paspaheghs, made as many prisoners, burnt their cabins and carried away their canoes and fishing weirs.

A party of the Paspaheghs having surrendered themselves, one of them, named Okanning, made a speech to Smith, in which he justified the escape of their chief from imprisonment at Jamestown, on the ground that "the fishes swim, the foulls fly and the very beasts strive to escape the snare and line."

A block-house was now built in the neck of the Jamestown peninsula. It was guarded by a garrison, who alone were authorized to trade with the Indians, and neither Indians nor whites suffered to pass in or out without the president's leave. Thirty or forty acres of land were planted. The hogs were kept at Hog Island and increased rapidly. Poultry was raised without the necessity of feeding. A block-house was garrisoned at Hog Island for the purpose of telegraphing shipping, arrived in the river. Capt. Wynne the only surviving councillor now dying, the whole government devolved upon Smith. Indeed he had in effect already held it for some time before, by having two voices in the council.

Smith built a fort for a retreat, on a convenient river, upon a high commanding hill, very hard to be assaulted and easy of defence. But the scarcity of provisions at Jamestown, prevented its completion.* This is probably the structure now known as the "Old Stone House," on Ware creek, a tributary of York river, and in James City county. It stands about five miles from the mouth of the creek

* Smith, vol. 1, p. 220.

* Smith, vol. 1, p. 227.

and twenty-two from Jamestown. The walls and chimney which remain are of sandstone. This miniature fortress is eighteen and a half feet, by fifteen in size, and consists of a basement under ground and one story above. On one side, there is a door-way, six feet wide, giving entrance to both apartments. There are loop-holes in the walls and the masonry is exact. The house stands in a wilderness, on a high knoll, at the foot of which the creek meanders. It is one hundred feet above the stream and three hundred back from it. The "Old Stone House" is approached by a long circuitous defile, surrounded by gloomy forests and dark ravines, mantled with laurel. It is doubtless the oldest house in Virginia. Its age and wild sequestered situation, have connected with it the fables of an uncertain tradition.

The store of provisions at Jamestown was wasted by rats introduced by vessels from England. For a time the Indians supplied the Colony with squirrels, turkeys, deer and other game. But at length the want of corn put a stop to the works that were in progress and the Colonists were dispersed abroad to procure subsistence. Sergeant Laxon, with sixty or eighty of them, was sent down the river to live upon oysters; Lieutenant Percy with twenty to find fish at Point Comfort. West, brother of Lord Delaware, with an equal number, repaired to the Falls, where nothing edible was found but acorns. Hitherto the whole body of the Colonists had been provided for by the courage and industry of thirty or forty. They had lived upon sturgeon and wild fruits. One man could in a day gather enough of the tuckahoe root to supply him with bread for a week. This tockawhonghe, as it is called by Smith, was, in the summer, a chief article of diet among the natives. It grows in marshes like a flag and is like the potatoe in size and flavor. Raw it is no better than poison, so that the Indians were accustomed to roast it and eat it mingled with sorel and meal.* Such was

the indolence of the greater number at Jamestown that it seemed as if they would sooner starve than take the pains to obtain food. At length their mutinous discontents arose to such a pitch that Smith arrested and punished Dyer, chief of the male-contents, and ordered that whoever failed to provide daily as much food as he should consume should be banished from Jamestown as a drone and a nuisance. Of the two hundred Colonists many were billeted among the Indians, and thus became familiar with their habits and manner of life.* Sicklemore, the soldier who had been despatched to Chowanock, returned after a fruitless search for Sir Walter Raleigh's people. He found the Chowan not large, the country generally overgrown with pines, pemminaw or silk-grass growing here and there. Two messengers were likewise sent to the country of the Mangoags in quest of the lost settlers. These messengers learned that they were all dead. Guides had been supplied by the hospitable chief of the Quiyoughcohanocks, who, of all others, was most friendly to the whites. Although a devout worshipper of his own gods he acknowledged that they were as inferior to the English God in power as the bow and arrow were inferior to the English gun. He often sent presents to Smith begging him to pray to the English God "for raine, else his corne would perish, for his Gods were angry."

The Virginia company, in England, mainly intent on pecuniary gain and quick returns, were now discouraged by the disasters that had befallen the Colony and disappointed in their visionary hopes of the discovery of gold mines and of a passage to the South Sea. They therefore took measures to procure from James a new charter abrogating the existing one, and invested them with more extensive powers. Having associated with themselves a numerous body of additional stockholders or adventurers, as they were then styled, including many of rank, influence and wealth, they succeeded in obtaining from the king a new charter, dated [May 23, 1609,] transferring to the corporation several important powers before reserved to the crown. So far the company became more

* Smith, vol. I. p. 123. Beverley's Hist. of Va., B. 3., p. 15. (I refer in general to the first edition of 1705. It does not differ materially from the second edition published Anno. 1722.) There is a remarkable root found in Virginia, said to grow without stem or leaf and called Tuckahoe, and confounded with the flag-root described above. See Farmer's Register for April, 1839, and vol. 9., p. 3. Jefferson's Notes on Va., p. 33. Rees' Cyclopaedia Art, Tuckahoe. Hist. of Louisiana by M. Le Page Du Pratz, p. 247. Dis-

course delivered 1814 by De Witt Clinton before the Literary and Philosophical Society of New-York, note 32. F'remont's Report, 135-160.

* Smith, vol. I., p. 229.

crown. So far the company became more independent and republican; but the governor, under the new system, was induced with arbitrary command, and authorized to declare martial law, and the condition of the Colonists was worse than before, since even the King's colonial policy was more liberal than that of the company. This sudden repeal of the former charter displayed a selfish ingratitude for the services of Smith and his associates, who, under it, had weathered the toil, privations and dangers of the first settlement. The supreme council, in England, now chosen by the stockholders, themselves appointed Sir Thomas West, Lord Delaware,* Governor and Captain General of Virginia, Sir Thomas Gates his Lieutenant, and Sir George Somers Admiral. Nine vessels were speedily fitted out and despatched for the Colony, with five hundred emigrants. Newport, who was entrusted with command of the squadron, Gates and Somers were severally authorized, whichever of them might first reach Jamestown, to supersede the existing administration there, until Lord Delaware, who was not to embark for some months, should arrive. This abundant caution defeated itself. Newport and the two knights finding it impracticable to adjust the point of precedence among themselves, by way of compromise embarked together in the same vessel, the Sea-Venture. The squadron sailed towards the end of May, [1609.] A small schooner perished in a hurricane. In the latter part of July, the Sea-Venture, with Newport, Gates, Somers and one hundred and fifty emigrants, was separated from the fleet in a terrible storm and wrecked on the coast of the picturesque island of Bermudas. The other seven vessels, shattered by the storm, and having suffered the loss of the greater portion of their supplies, reached Jamestown, [August 1609.] They brought back Ratcliffe, whose real name was Sicklemore, who had been remanded by Smith to England on account of his mutinous conduct, Martin and Archer, together with sundry other captains and "divers Gentlemen of good meanes and great parentage," and about three hundred more emigrants, the greater proportion of them profligate youths, packed

off from home "to escape ill destinies," broken-down gentlemen, bankrupt tradesmen and the like. Upon the appearance of the fleet, Smith, not expecting such a supply, took them to be Spaniards and prepared to encounter them, and the Indians readily offered their assistance. The Colony had already, before the arrival of the fleet, been threatened with anarchy, owing to intelligence of the premature repeal of the charter brought out by Capt. Argall. The new emigrants had no sooner landed than they involved the Colony in new confusion and misery. The factious leaders affecting to insist on the abrogation of the old charter, rejected the authority of Smith, whom they hated, and feared, and undertook to usurp the government. Their folly equalled their insolence. "To-day the old Commission must rule, to-morrow the new, the next day neither;" thus, by continual change, plunging all things into anarchy. Smith filled with disgust, would cheerfully have returned to England, "but seeing small hope this new commission would arrive" he resolved to put an end to these continual plots, cabals and machinations. The ring-leaders, Ratcliffe, Archer, and others, he arrested; to cut off one source of disturbance he gave permission to Percy, who was in low health, to embark for England, of which, however, he did not avail himself; West, with one hundred and twenty picked men, was detached to the falls of James river, and Martin, with nearly the same number, to Nansemond. Smith's presidency having expired about this time, he had been succeeded by Martin, who, however, conscious of his incompetency, had immediately resigned it to Smith.* Martin, at Nansemond, seized the chief, and capturing the town, occupied it with his detachment. Here, however, owing to want of judgment or of vigilance, he suffered himself to be surprised by the savages, who slew many of his party, rescued their chief and carried off their corn. Martin not long after returned to Jamestown leaving his detachment to shift for themselves.

Smith visiting West's settlement at the falls, found them planted "in a place not only subiect to the river's inundation, but round environed with many intollerable in-

* He was third of that title. The present, (1843,) Earl Delaware, John George West, is his lineal descendant. Hubbard's note in Belknap, vol. 2, p. 116.

* Smith, v. 1, p. 233-236. Grahame's Hist. U. S. Amer. Edition, v. 1, p. 56-58.

conueniences." To remedy these, Smith, by a messenger, proposed to purchase from Powhatan his seat of that name, a little lower down the river. The settlers, however, disdainfully rejected the scheme, and became so mutinous, that Smith landed among them and arrested the chief malecontents. But overpowered by numbers, being backed by only five, he was forced to retire on board of a vessel lying in the river. The Indians daily brought him provisions, in requital for which the English stole their corn, robbed their gardens, beat them, broke into their cabins, and made them prisoners. They complained to Smith that those whom he had sent there as protectors, were worse than their enemies, the Monacans. Smith embarked for Jamestown. However, he had no sooner set sail than many of West's people were slain by the savages. And it so happened that before Smith had dropped a mile and a half down the river his vessel ran aground. Making a virtue of necessity, he now summoned the mutineers to a parley, and they were siezed with such a panic on account of the assault of a handful of savages, that they submitted themselves to his mercy. He now again arrested the ring-leaders, and established the rest at Powhatan, in the Indian palisade fort, which was so well fortified by poles and bark, as to defy all the savages in Virginia. Dry cabins were also found there, and nearly two hundred acres of ground ready to be planted, and it was called Nonsuch, as being at once the strongest and most delightful place in the country. Smith now being on the eve of his departure, West's arrival again threw all things aback into confusion. Nonsuch was abandoned and all hands returned to the falls. Smith finding all his efforts abortive, embarked in a boat for Jamestown. During the voyage, he was terribly wounded while asleep, by the accidental explosion of a bag of gunpowder. In the paroxysm of pain he leapt into the river and was well nigh drowned before his companions could rescue him. Arriving at Jamestown in this helpless condition, he was again assailed by faction and mutiny. One of his enemies even presented a cocked pistol at him in his bed; but the hand wanted the nerve to execute what the heart was malignant enough to design. Ratcliffe, Archer and their confederates laid plans to usurp the government.

Smith's old soldiers, fired with indignation at conduct so infamous, begged for permission to strike off their heads. But this he refused, as he did also to surrender the government to Percy, * and embarked for England about Michaelmas, 1609, after a stay of a little more than two years in Virginia, † to which he never returned.

Here then closes the career of Captain John Smith in Virginia. He was "the father of the Colony," and a knight like Bayard, "without fear and without reproach." His departure was thus deplored by one of his comrades :—" What shall I say but thus ; we lost him that in all his proceedings made Justice his first guide and experience his second, even hating basenesse, sloath, pride and indignitie, more then any dangers ; that neuer allowed more for himselfe than his soaldiers with him ; that vpon no danger would send them, where he would not lead them himselfe ; that would never see vs want what he either had, or could by any meanes get vs ; that would rather want then borrow or starue then not pay ; that loued action more then words, and hated falsehood and covetousness worse then death ; whose ad- ventures were our liues, and whose losse our deaths." ‡

From the period of Smith's departure from Virginia, for some years little is known of him. [1614.] He made his first voyage to New England. [1615.] After many disappointments, sailing in a small bark for that country, after a running fight with, and narrow escape from, two French pirates near Fayal, he was captured near Flores by a half piratical French squadron. After long detention, he was carried to Rochelle, in France, and there charged with having burnt Port

* Stith censures Smith for refusing to surrender the presidency to Percy ; yet he acknowledges that he was in too feeble health to control a mutinous colony. Besides anarchy being triumphant in the colony, Smith probably held it idle, if not worse, to appoint a governor over a mob. If, however, Smith acted petulantly in this affair, surely petulance was never more excusable. See Smith, vol. 1, p. 239-40. Bancroft, vol. I., p. 138, has inadvertently fallen into an error in this particular. He says of Smith, "delegating his authority to Percy, he embarked for England."

† Smith, vol. 1, p. 231.

‡ Another of his old soldiers said.—

"I never knew a Warrier yet but thee
From wine, Tobacco, debts, dice, oaths so free."

[Smith, v. 1, p. 210, and verses by T. Carlton. Smith, v. 2, 171.

Royal, in New France, which had been done by Capt. Argall. Smith at length, at the utmost hazard, escaped from his captors, and being assisted by several of the inhabitants of Rochelle, especially by "Madame Chanoyses,"* he at last returned to England and published, [June, 1616,] his "Description of New England," written while he was a prisoner on board of a piratical French ship, in order, as he says, "to keep my perplexed thoughts from too much meditation of my miserable estate." The Plymouth company now conferred upon him the title of Admiral of New England. It was during this year that Pocahontas visited England. After this, Smith never again visited America. [1622.] When the news of the massacre reached England, Smith proposed to come over to Virginia with a proper force to reduce the savages to subjection. This project, however, failed.

Captain Smith died at London, [1631,] in the fifty-second year of his age. Although gifted with a person and address of singular fascination, he never married. He was possessed of a competent fortune, if not wealthy. He never received any recompense for his colonial labors and sacrifices. He spent five years and more than five hundred pounds in the service of Virginia and New England, and yet he complains, "in neither of those two Countries haue I one foot of Land, nor the very house I builded, nor the ground I digged with my owne hands, nor euer any content or satisfaction at all, and though I see ordinarily those two Countries shared before me, by them that neither haue them nor knowe them but by my descriptions." His "Newes from Virginia" appeared [1608.] It is remarkable that this publication contained no allusion to his rescue by Pocahontas. He published, [1612,] "A Map of Virginia, with a description of the countrey, commodities, people, government and religion," &c., and, [1620,] "New England Trials." [1626.] Appeared his "Generall Historie of Virginia, New England, and the Summer Isles,"† a greater part of which had

* "Tragabigzanda, Callamata's love,
Deare Pocahontas, Madam Shanoi's ton,
Who did what love with modesty could doe."

[Verses, by R. Brathwait, prefixed to vol. 1 of Smith's Hist.

† I have been indebted to a gentleman of Gloucester county for a sight of this old quarto. The typography is very good.

been already published, [1625,] by Purchas in his "Pilgrims." The second and sixth books of this "Historie" were composed by Smith, the third was compiled by William Simons, "Doctour of Divinitie," and the rest by Smith from about thirty different writers. [1625.] He published "An Accidence, or the pathway to experience, necessary for all young Seamen," and, [1627,] "A Sea Grammar." [1630.] He gave to the public "The Trve Travels, Adventvres and Observations of Captaine John Smith in Europe, Asia, Africke and America," from 1593 to 1629. This work, together with the General History, was republished by Rev. Dr. John H. Rice, [1819,] at Richmond, Virginia. The copy is complete, excepting some maps and engravings. [1631.] Smith published "Advertisements for the unexperienced planters of New England, or any where," &c., said to be the most elaborate of his productions. The learned, able and elegant historian, Grahame, prefers the writings of Smith on colonization, to those of Lord Bacon. * At the time of his death, Smith was engaged upon a "Historie of the Sea."† So famous was he even in his own day, that he complains of some extraordinary passages in his life having been *mis-represented* on the stage.

CHAPTER VIII.

1608.

The Indians of Virginia; Their form and features; Mode of wearing their hair; Clothing; Ornaments; Manner of living; Diet; Towns and cabins; Arms and Implements; Religion; Medicine; The Seasons; Hunting; Sham-fights; Music; Indian character.

The Indians of Virginia were tall, erect, and

* Grahame's Hist. U. S., Amer. Ed., Vol. I, p. 570. He concludes his notice thus.—"But Smith's renown will break forth again, and once more be commensurate with his desert. It will grow with the growth of men and letters in America; and whole nations of its admirers have yet to be born."

Since the first three chapters of this work were printed, I have procured a copy of a new "Life of Captain John Smith," by W. Gilmore Simms, Esq.,—a full and faithful biography. The appearance of this work, of Howe's Historical Collections of Virginia, and of Howison's History of Virginia, the first volume of which has recently been published, are evidences of a newly awakened interest in a field that has been too long neglected.

† Hillard's Life of Smith in Appendix.

well-proportioned, with high cheek bones, eyes dark and brilliant, with a sort of squint, hair dark and straight. The chiefs were distinguished by a long pendent lock. The Indians had little or no beard. The women were their barbers, "who with two shells will grate away the hayre of any fashion they please." Like all savages, they were fond of toys and tawdry ornaments. The principal garment was a mantle, in winter dressed with the fur, in summer without. But the common sort had scarce any thing to hide their nakedness save grass or leaves, and in summer they all went nearly naked. The females, however, always wore a cincture around the middle. Some covered themselves with a mantle of curiously interwoven turkey feathers, pretty and comfortable. The greater part went barefoot; some wore moccasons, a rude sandal of buckskin. Some of the women tattooed their skins with grotesque figures. They adorned the ear with pendants of copper, or a small living snake, green or yellow, or a dead rat. The head was adorned with a wing of a bird, a large feather, the rattle of a rattle-snake, or the hand of an enemy. They painted the head and shoulder red with the juice of the puccoon root.

The red men dwelt for the most part on the banks of rivers and near springs. The men passed the time in fishing, hunting, war or indolence. Labor they despised and assigned to the women. They made mats, baskets, pottery, hollowed out stone mortars, pounded corn, made bread, cooked, planted corn, gathered it, carried burthens, &c. Infants they enured to hardship and exposure.

"Their fire they kindle presently by chafing a dry pointed sticke in a hole of a little square piece of wood, that firing it selfe will so fire the mosse, leaues or any such dry thing that will quickly burne."

They subsisted mainly upon fish, game, the natural fruits of the earth, and corn, which they planted. The Tuckahoe root in the summer, was a principal article of diet. Their cookery was no less rude than their other habits, yet *pone* and *homony* have been borrowed from them, as also, it is said, the mode of barbecuing meat. The natives did not refuse to eat grubs, snakes and the insect locust. Their bread was mostly of corn, some-

times of wild-oats* or the seed of the sunflower. Their salt was only such as could be procured from ashes. They were fond of "roasting-ears" of corn, and one of their festivals was "the green-corn dance." From hickory-nuts pounded in a mortar, they expressed a liquor called Pawcohiccora. The peach-tree was indigenous, and the Indian was not ignorant of the mode of drying the fruit. In their journies they would provide themselves with rockahominy or corn parched and reduced to a powder.

The Indians dwelt in towns, the cabins slightly built of saplings bent over at the top and tied together and thatched with reeds or covered with mats or bark, the smoke escaping through an aperture at the top. The door, if any, was a pendent mat. They sate on the ground, the better sort on match-coats or mats. Their fortifications consisted of palisades, ten or twelve feet high, sometimes encompassing an entire town, sometimes a part. Within these enclosures, they preserved with pious care their idols and reliques and the remains of their chiefs.

In hunting and war, they used the bow and arrow, the bow usually of locust, the arrow of reed, or a wand. "To make the notch of his arrow, he hath the tooth of a Beaver, set in a sticke, wherewith he gratheth it by degrees." The arrow was winged with a turkey feather, fastened with glue, extracted from "the velvet horns of a Deer." The arrow was headed with an arrow-point of stone. These are yet to be found in every part of the country. For knives the red men made use of sharpened reeds or shells, and for axes or hatchets, tomahawks of stone sharpened at both ends, fastened to a handle of wood. They soon, however, procured iron hatchets from the English. Trees they felled by fire. Canoes were made by burning and scraping with shells and tomahawks. Some of their canoes were not less than 40 or 50 feet long.

The women made a thread of bark or of the sinews of the deer, or of a kind of grass called Pemminaw. A large pipe, adorned with the wings of a bird, or with beads, was the symbol of friendship, called "the pipe of peace." A war-council among them was styled a "Matchacomoco." In war they

* It is said, that they gathered this grain, by pushing their canoes into the marshes where it grew and shaking the bended stalks over the canoe.

relied mainly on surprise and ambuscade ; in the open field they were timid. Their cruelty, as usual, was proportionate to their cowardice. The Virginia Indians were idolaters. Their chief idol, called Okee, represented the spirit of evil, to appease whom they burnt sacrifices. They were greatly under the control of their priests and conjurors. These wore a grotesque dress, performed a variety of divinations, conjurations and enchantments, called " Powwowings," after the manner of wizards and by their superior cunning and shrewdness and some scanty knowledge of medicine, managed to render themselves objects of veneration and to live upon the labor of others. The superstition of the savages was commensurate with their ignorance. Near the falls of the James, about a mile back from the river, there were some impressions on a rock, like the footsteps of a giant, being about five feet asunder. These the Indians declared to be the foot-prints of their God. They submitted with fortitude to cruel tortures imposed by their idolatry, especially in the horrid ordeal of Huskanawing. The house in which they kept the Okee, was called Quioccasan, and was surrounded by posts with men's faces rudely carved and painted. Altars for sacrifice were held in great veneration. The diseases of the Indians were not numerous ; their remedies few and simple. Their physic consisted mainly of bark and roots of trees. Sweating was a favorite remedy, and every town was provided with a sweating-house. The patient issuing from the heated atmosphere, plunged himself in cold water, after the manner of the Russian bath.

The Indians celebrated certain festivals, by pastimes, games and songs. The year they divided into five seasons, the budding-time of Spring, roasting-ear time, Summer, the fall of the leaf and Winter, called Cohonk, after the cry of the wild geese. The months they designated by such epithets as the Moon of Stags, the corn Moon, first Moon of Cohonks, &c. Accounts they kept by knots on strings, or notches on a tally-stick.

The red men engaged in fishing and hunting from their infancy, so as to become expert and familiar with the haunts of game and fish. The luggage of the hunting parties was borne by women. Deer were taken by surrounding them and building fires, which

kept them within the circle till they were slain ; sometimes they were driven into the water and there captured. The Indian hunting alone would stalk behind the skin of a deer. Game being more abundant in the mountain country, the hunting parties repaired to the heads of the rivers at the proper season. This, perhaps, engendered the constant hostilities that existed between the Powhatans of the tide-water region and the Monacans on the upper waters of the James and the Mannahoacks at the head of the Rappahannock. The Indians were in the habit of exercising themselves in sham-fights. " Vpon the first flight of arrowes, they gaue such horrible shoufts and screeches as so many infernall hell-hounds could not haue made them more terrible." " All their actions, voyces and gestures, both in charging and retiring, were so strained to the height of their qualitie and nature, that the strangesse thereof made it seeme very delightfull." " For their Musicke they vse a thicke cane, on which they pipe as on a Recorder." They had also a rude sort of drum and rattles of gourds or pumpkins. The Indians were hospitable ; in their manners easy and composed. The chastity of their women was not held in much value.

They were in every thing inconstant, unless where constrained by fear. " Craftie, timorous, quicke of apprehension and very ingenious. Some are of disposition fearfull, some bold, most cautelous, all savage." Passionate and malicious, they seldom forgave an injury. They rarely stole from one another, lest their conjurors should reveal it, and they should be punished. The women were " carefull not to be suspected of dishonestie without leaue of their husbands."*

CHAPTER IX.

1609—1611.

Condition of the Colony at the time of Smith's departure ; Lord Bacon's opinion on the proper materials for planting a Colony ; Affairs of the Colony ; Assaults of Indians ; " Starving Time ;" Wreck of the Sea-Venture ; Situation of the English on the island of Bermuda ;

* Smith, B. 2, p. 129-137. Beverley, B. 3. The reader who is in quest of a fuller account may find it in Drake's Book of the Indians, Dr. Thatcher's work on the same subject, or Bancroft, vol. 3, chap. xxii.

They embark for Virginia; Arrive at Jamestown; Misery of the Colony; Jamestown abandoned; The Colonists meet Lord Delaware's fleet; Return to Jamestown; Delaware's discipline; The Church at Jamestown; Sir George Somers sails for the Bermudas; His death; Miscellaneous occurrences; Delaware returns to England.

Smith upon sailing for England, left at Jamestown three ships, seven boats, a sufficient stock of provision, four hundred and ninety odd settlers, twenty pieces of cannon, three hundred muskets, with other guns, ammunition, pikes, swords, &c., and one hundred soldiers well acquainted with the Indian language and the nature of the country. The colony was provided with fishing nets, working tools, apparel, six mares and a horse, five or six hundred swine, as many hens and chickens, besides some goats and sheep. Jamestown was strongly fortified with palisades and contained fifty or sixty houses. There were besides five or six other forts and plantations. There was only one carpenter in the colony; three others, however, were learning that trade. There were two blacksmiths and two sailors. The settlers were for the most part poor gentlemen, serving men, libertines, &c., and with such materials the wonder is that the settlement was effected at all. Lord Bacon says:—"It is a shameful and unblessed thing to take the scum of people, wicked, condemned men, with whom you plant and not only so, but it spoileth the plantation, for they will ever live like rogues and not fall to work, but be lazy and do mischief, spend victuals and be quickly weary."

Immediately upon Smith's departure, the Indians renewed their attacks. Percy for a time administered the government, but it soon fell into the hands of the seditious malecontents. Provisions growing scarce, West and Ratcliffe embarked in small vessels to procure corn. Ratcliffe inveigled by Powhatan was slain with thirty of his companions, two only escaping, of whom one a boy, Henry Spilman, "a young gentleman well descended," was rescued by Pocahontas. He afterwards lived many years among the Patawomkes, acquired their language, and often proved serviceable as interpreter for his countrymen.* The loss of Captain

* Smith, vol. 2, p. 2. Belknap, 2, p. 131, calls him *Spelman*;—which is probably correct. He was slain by the savages on the banks of the Potowmack in 1622. Smith, vol. 2, p. 95.

Smith was soon felt by the colonists. They were now continually exposed to the arrow and the tomahawk; the public store was consumed by the commanders and the savages; swords and guns were bartered for food with the Indians. By all these evils, within six months after Smith's departure, the number of English in Virginia was reduced from five hundred, to sixty men, women and children. These found themselves in a miserable starving condition, subsisting on roots, herbs, acorns, walnuts, berries and fish. Starch became an article of diet, and even dogs, cats, rats, snakes, toad-stools and the skins of horses. The body of an Indian was disinterred and eaten; nay, at last the colonists, like famished hyenas, preyed on the dead bodies of each other. And it was even alleged that a husband murdered his wife for a cannibal repast.* Upon his trial, however, it was proved that the cannibalism was feigned to palliate the murder. He was put to death, being burned according to law. This was long remembered as "the starving time." Sir Thomas Smith, the treasurer of the company was bitterly denounced by the sufferers for his neglecting to send the necessary supplies. It seemed as if the threat of abandoning the colony to its fate, was now to be actually carried into effect. But the main supplies had been lost by storm and shipwreck.

It has already been mentioned that the Sea-Venture, with Gates, Somers, and one hundred and fifty colonists, had been wrecked on the coast of Bermudas. Caught in "the tail of a hericano," and overwhelmed by the fury of the ocean, the hapless crew after vainly contending for three days and nights with a leak, at length yielded to despair. Some sought oblivion of their impending fate in intoxication. During all this time, Sir George Somers, seated on the poop, strove to keep the laboring vessel as upright as possible, or else she must have foundered, and at length descried land. All sail being now spread, in a short while the Sea-Venture was lodged between two rocks. Passengers and supplies were landed in safety, and the island which had been looked

* Smith, vol. 2, p. 2. Smith, 305, "the happiest day many ever hoped to see, was when the Indians had killed a mare, the people wishing, as she was boiling, that Sir Thomas Smith was upon her back, in the kettle." See also Belknap, vol. 2, p. 106-7.

upon as an enchanted den of Furies, was found to be a paradise, blessed with exquisite scenery and a voluptuous atmosphere. Fish, fowl, turtle and wild hogs supplied the English with abundant food; the palmetto leaf furnished a cover for their cabins. They had daily morning and evening prayers, and on Sunday divine service was performed and two sermons preached by the chaplain, "Master Bucke." Living in the midst of peace and plenty, in this sequestered and delightful island, many of the emigrants lost all desire ever to leave it. Gates and Somers, however, less romantic, having decked the long boat of the wrecked vessel, with her hatches, despatched "Master Raven, a very sufficient mariner," with eight men to Virginia for succor. The boat was never more heard of. Discord, too, found her way among the exiles of Bermudas. Gates and Somers, the commanders, "lied asunder in this distresse." In the meantime the monotony of life was varied by the birth of two children, the boy called Bermudas, the girl Bermuda, and "amongst all those sorrows, they had a merry English marriage." Gates and Somers at length, each of them, completed a cedar vessel, constructed after the manner of Robinson Crusoe. The one was named "The Patience," the other "The Deliverance." The bark of Sir George Somers was constructed without the use of any iron, save a bolt in her keel. After having spent nine months on the island, they sailed [May 10th, 1610] for Virginia, and in fourteen days reached Jamestown, where they found only sixty miserable colonists surviving. Sir Thomas Gates, on landing, caused the bell to be rung and summoned all to the church, where, after a prayer by Mr. Bucke, the new commission was read, and Percy, the late President, scarcely able to stand, surrendered up the old patent and his commission. Having resolved to abandon the country and return to England, they buried their ordnance at the gate of the fort, and on the 7th of June, at beat of drum, the whole company embarked in four pinnaces. Some of the people were with difficulty restrained from setting fire to the town, but Gates, with a select company, remained on shore till the rest had embarked, and he was the last that stepped into the boat. Not a tear was shed at their departure from a spot associated with so much misery.

"How near is often the hour of despair to that which affords us the true pledge of the attainment of our most sanguine wishes." * "Man's extremity is God's opportunity." At noon they reached Hog island. On the next morning, while anchored off Mulberry island, they were met by a long-boat with despatches from Lord Delaware, who had arrived with three vessels. Gates returned on the same day to Jamestown. Lord Delaware with his vessels arrived there on the 9th of June. On the morning of the following day his lordship, when he came ashore, fell on his knees in silent devotion. An eye-witness says: "We cast anchor before James Town where we landed, and our much grieved Governor, first visiting the church, caused the bell to be rung, at which all such as were able to come forth of their houses, repayed to church, where our minister, Master Bucke, made a zealous and sorrowfull prayer, finding all things so contrary to our expectations so full of misery and misgovernment." †

The hand of Providence was plainly manifested in all these circumstances. The arrival of Sir Thomas Gates rescued the Colony from the jaws of famine; his prudence saved the fort at Jamestown, which the Colonists, upon abandoning it, desired to destroy, so as to cut off all possibility of a return; had their return been longer delayed, the savages might have demolished the fort; had they set sail sooner, they would probably have missed Lord Delaware's fleet, as they had intended to sail by way of Newfoundland, in a direction contrary to that by which Lord Delaware approached.

His lordship, Governor and Captain General, † was accompanied by Sir Ferdinand Waynman, master of the horse, who died shortly afterwards, Captain Holcroft, Captain Lawson and other gentlemen. On the day after his arrival the Governor landed, attended service at the church as already mentioned, read his commission and called a council. He was the first governor of Virginia by that name. Under his prudent and energetic management, discipline and industry were speedily restored. The hours of labor were set from 6 o'clock in the morning to 10, and

* Martin's His. N. C., vol. 1, p. 71.

† 4 Purchas, B. 9, chap. vi.

‡ Stith, 117. These titles were ever after given to the Colonial Governors-in-chief of Virginia.

from 2 to 4 in the afternoon. The Colonists daily attended worship in the church. This edifice was sixty feet long and twenty-four wide. The chancel of cedar and a communion-table of black walnut, with handsome wide windows to shut and open according to the weather. The pews and pulpit of cedar, with a font hewed hollow like a canoe. There were two bells hung at the West end. The building was so constructed as to be well lighted. The governor had it kept sweet and dressed with flowers. There was a sexton belonging to it. Two sermons were delivered on Sunday and one on Thursday; the two preachers taking weekly turns. Every morning, at about 10 o'clock, a bell gave the signal for prayers and so again at 4 o'clock in the afternoon. On Sunday, when the governor went to church, he was accompanied by all the councillors, captains, other officers and all the gentlemen, with a guard of halberdiers in the governors littery, with handsome scarlet cloaks, to the number of fifty walking on each side and behind him. The governor sate in the choir, on a green velvet cushion laid on a table before him, on which he knelt. On each side of him sate the councillors, captains and other officers, each in their places. The governor in returning from church was escorted back to his house in the same way.*

Some of the houses at Jamestown were covered with boards, some with Indian mats; they were comfortable and securely protected from the savages by the forts.†

The new governor, Lord Delaware, was a generous patron of the Colony, but it was as yet too much in its infancy, to maintain the state suitable to him and his splendid retinue. On the 15th of June, Sir George Somers sailed for Bermuda to procure supplies for the Colony. He died on the island at a spot, on which the town of St. George commemo- rates his name. It was said of him, that he was "a lamb upon land, a lion at sea." As his life had been divided between the old world and the new, so, after his death, his remains were buried part at Bermuda, part in England.

The governor despatched Captain Argall to the Potomac for corn, which he succeeded in procuring, by the aid of the youthful pris-

oner, Henry Spilman. Lord Delaware erected two forts, called Henry and Charles, after the King's sons. These forts were built on a level tract, bordering Southampton river, and it was intended that settlers arriving from England, should first land there, to refresh themselves after the confinement of the voyage. Sir Thomas Gates now returned to England; Captain Percy was despatched with fifty or sixty men to chastise the Paspaheghs for some depredations. They fled before the English, who burnt their cabins, captured their queen and her children, and shortly after ungenerously slew them. Lord Delaware visiting the falls with some soldiers, was assaulted by the Indians, who killed three or four of his men. Shortly after, his lordship finding himself in feeble health, embarked for England, [March 28th, 1611.]

CHAPTER X.

1611—1614.

Perey Governor; New Charter; Sir Thomas Dale, Governor; Code of Martial Laws; Dale founds the town of Henrico; Plantations Hope in Faith and Coxendale; Rock Hall; Bermuda Hundred; Upper and Lower Hundred; Rochdale; West Shirley; Digges' Hundred; Jamestown; Argall makes Poehahontas a prisoner and carries herto Jamestown Negotiations with Powhatan; Dale, accompanied by Poehahontas, makes an expedition up York river; Burns Powhatan's cabins at Werowocomoco; Interviews with the Indians; Rolfe and Sparks sent to Powhatan; Dale returns to Jamestown; Rolfe marries Poehahontas; The Chickahomines enter into a treaty of peace; Community of goods abolished; Argall's expeditions against the French settlements in Acadia; He captures the Dutch fort at New Amsterdam; Hamer's visit to Powhatan.

Delaware was succeeded by Capt. George Percy, who was gentle and courageous but of a mediocre capacity. The number of Colonists was now about two hundred, with provision for ten months. Before Lord Delaware reached England, the council and company despatched for Virginia Sir Thomas Dale, with three vessels, one hundred cattle, two hundred hogs and other provision.

[March 12, 1612.] Another charter was granted to the London company, extending the boundaries of the Colony, so as to include all islands lying within three hundred leagues of the continent. The object of this

* Strachey's Narrative in Purchas.

† Smith, vol. 2, p. 5.

extension was to embrace the Bermudas or Somer Islands; but the London Company shortly afterwards sold them to one hundred and twenty of its members, who were incorporated into a distinct company.*

These islands took their name from Sir George Somers. The new charter contained further provisions, ordering general quarterly meetings of the company, thus making the corporation republican, encouraging emigration, prohibiting desertions and misrepresentations of the Colony and authorizing a lottery.

Sir Thomas Dale, who had served in the Low Countries, sent out as Governor, arrived in Virginia May 10th, 1611. He brought over with him, for the government of the Colony, a code of "Lawes diuine, morall and martiall," compiled by Sir Thomas Smith from the military laws of the Low Countries, and sent, as has been alleged, by him without the sanction of the company. But since the corporation in no way interposed its authority in contravention to the new code, their sanction of it must be presumed. Several of these laws were barbarous, inhuman, written in blood. They even reduced the church under Martial law. However, under Dale's administration, sanguinary punishments were not often inflicted.* The government indeed was, in practice, stringent and peremptory, but perhaps not much more so than was demanded by the exigencies of the Colony. Faction and mutiny had already well nigh involved it in ruin.

Sir Thomas Dale found the Colony relapsing into indolence and improvidence. Touching at Kiquotan he set all hands there to planting corn. At Jamestown he found the settlers busily engaged in their usual occupation—playing bowls in the streets. He set them to work, felling trees, repairing houses, and providing materials for enclosing the new town, which he proposed to build. To find a site for it, he, with a hundred men, surveyed Nansemond river and the James to the falls, and finally pitched upon a high ground encircled by the river near Arrohattock. Here

was built the town of Henrico * so called in honor of the heir apparent Prince Henry. It was seated on a peninsula surrounded on three sides by the river, and impaled across from water to water. There were three streets of well-framed houses, a handsome church of wood completed and the foundation laid of a better one to be built of brick, besides store-houses, watch-houses, &c. Upon the river-edge there were five houses wherein lived "the honeste sort of people as Farmers in *England*, and they keepe continuall centinell for the towne's securitie." About two miles back from the town was a second palisade, "neere two miles in length from Riuier to Riuier guarded by seuerall Commanders, with a good quantity of Corne-ground impaled sufficiently secured," &c. On the south side a plantation was established called Hope in Faith and Coxendale, with five forts

* Vestiges of the town are still to be traced on Cox's Island, (formerly Farrar's,) near Varina. Some curious errors respecting its site have crept into several of our histories. Burk, vol. I., p. 166, says: "The ruins of this place, called Henrico in honor of one of the sons of the monarch, are still visible at Tuckahoe," and for authority Stith, p. 124 is referred to. But Stith's words are, "The ruins of this town are still plainly to be traced and distinguished upon the land of the late Colonel William Randolph of Tuckahoe, just without the entrance into *Farrar's Island*." Now Farrar's Island is twelve miles below the falls, whereas Tuckahoe is as many above. There is another mistake in a note on the same page of Burk—"This town, (Henrico,) stood at the mouth of the river and was accounted but five miles by land from Henrico." It ought to read "This town Bermuda, &c. But as if there was some fatality in the case, Keith has fallen into a mistake as to the situation of this old town. On page 124, he says, that Sir Thomas Dale "proceeded all the way up James river until he came to a high rising ground, *about twelve miles above the falls*," which being naturally fortified and almost surrounded by water, he pitched on that place for his intended purpose," and adds that it was "about fifty miles above Jamestown." Now it requires no great topographical acumen to see that a place only "about fifty miles above Jamestown" could not be "about twelve miles above the falls." It is easy to account for Keith's mistake. According to Smith, Book 4, p. 10, Henrico was built "upon a high land environed with the main river, some twelve miles from the falls, by Arrohattock." It is evident that Keith mistook "twelve miles from the falls" to mean twelve miles *above* them, instead of *below*. According to Smith as above referred to and Beverley, B. 1, p. 25, Henrico was near Arrohattock, and about fifty miles above Jamestown. Arrohattock is laid down on Smith's map about twelve miles below the falls and on the North side of the river. Henrico was five miles from Bermuda and situated on a peninsula encircled by a bend of the river. According to Stith, the most accurate of our historians and who lived in 1746 at Varina, Henrico stood "just without the entrance into *Farrar's Island*," and this is now known as Cox's Island. See Sou. Lit. Mess. for June, 1845. Farrar's Island was probably called after Sir Nicholas Farrar, deputy treasurer.

* Hen. Stat., vol. I, p. 98. Stith, p. 127, and Appendix No. 3.

+ Smith, vol. 2, p. 10-11. Stith, 122. Burk 1, 165-195, and Appendix 304. Hawks' Narrative 24-27. Where the "Lawes diuine" may be seen. Force's Hist. Tracts, vol. 3. pp. 9-68.

called respectively, Charity, Elizabeth, Patience and Mount Malady, "a guest-house for sick people," on the spot where, afterwards, in Stith's time, Jefferson's church stood. On the same side of the river the Rev. Alexander Whitaker, called "the Apostle of Virginia,"* established his parsonage, a well-framed house, and one hundred acres of land called Rock Hall.

The Appomattox Indians having committed some depredations, Sir Thomas Dale, about Christmas, [1611,] captured their town, seized their corn and slew some of them. This town was five miles distant from Henrico. The governor pleased with the situation established a plantation there and called it Bermudas.† This place is still known as Bermuda Hundred and is the port of Richmond for ships of heavy burthen. Dale laid out several hundreds there, the Upper and Lower Rochdale, West Shirley and Digges' Hundred. In conformity with the newly introduced martial law, each hundred was subjected to the control of a captain. The Nether hundred was enclosed with a fence two miles long running from river to river. Here, [1611,] within a half mile of each other were many "faire houses already built besides particular men's houses neere to the number of fiftie." Rochdale, enclosed by a fence four miles long, was planted with houses along the enclosure. Here the hogs and cattle enjoyed a circuit of twenty miles to graze in securely.

About fifty miles below these stood Jamestown, on a fertile peninsula, with two rows of framed houses, some of them with two stories and a garret, three large store-houses, and the town well enclosed. The town and the neighboring region were well peopled. Forty miles below Jamestown, at Kiquotan, the settlers enjoyed an abundance of fish, fowl and venison.‡

Captain Argall now arriving from England in a vessel with forty men was sent to the Potomac to trade for corn. He managed to ingratiate himself with Japazaws, a friendly chief, and from him learned that Pocahontas

* Hawks' Narrative, 29. He was the son of the celebrated Dr. William Whitaker, master of St. John's, Cambridge.

† The Bermudas Islands were so called after Bermudez, a Spanish navigator who discovered them. Martin's Hist. N. C., vol. 1, p. 75.

‡ Smith, vol. 2, p. 13.

was there. She had never visited Jamestown since Smith's departure, and on the remote banks of the Potomac she thought herself unknown. Japazaws, bribed by Argall, betrayed the artless and unsuspecting girl into his hands. When she discovered the treachery she burst into tears. Argall carried her to Jamestown. A messenger had been already sent to inform Powhatan that his favorite daughter was a prisoner and must be ransomed with the men, arms, &c., taken from the English. Three months thereafter he restored seven English prisoners and some unserviceable muskets, and sent word that if his daughter was released he would make restitution for all injuries and give the English five hundred bushels of corn, and forever remain in peace and amity. They, however, refused to surrender Pocahontas until full satisfaction was rendered. Powhatan was deeply offended and nothing more was heard from him for a long time. At length Sir Thomas Dale, the governor, with Capt. Argall's vessel and some others, manned with one hundred and fifty men, went up the York river, taking Pocahontas with him to Werowocomoco. Here, meeting with a scornful defiance, the English landed, burnt the cabins and destroyed every thing. On the next day Dale, proceeding up the river, concluded a truce with the savages. He then sailed up to Matchot,* a residence of Powhatan, on the south side of the Pamunkey, near its mouth. Here four hundred warriors were found. The English landing, the savages demanded a truce till Powhatan could be heard from, which being granted, two of Powhatan's sons went on board the vessel to see their sister, Pocahontas. Finding her well, contrary to what they had heard, they were delighted and promised to persuade their father to make peace and forever be friends with the whites. John Rolfe and master Sparks were despatched to let Powhatan know these proceedings. He entertained them hospitably, but would not admit them into his presence. However, they saw his brother, Opechancanough, who engaged to use his interest with Powhatan in favor of peace. It now being April, the season for planting corn, Sir Thomas Dale returned to

* Supposed to be identical with Eltham, the ancient seat of the Bassets in New Kent, and which derives its name from an English seat in Co. Kent.

Jamestown intending not to renew hostilities until the next harvest.*

Now long before this time, "master John Rolfe, an honest gentleman, of good behaviour, had been in love with Pocahontas and she with him." Rolfe, agitated by the conflicting emotions of this romantic passion, in a letter requested the advice of Sir Thomas Dale on the occasion. He readily gave his consent to the union. Pocahontas likewise communicated the affair to her brother, so that the report of the marriage soon reached Powhatan, and it proved, likewise, acceptable to him. Within ten days, he sent Opechisco, an aged uncle of Pocahontas, and her two brothers, to attend the wedding and fill his place at the ceremony. The marriage took place early in April, 1611, at Jamestown.

This union became a happy link of peace and harmony between the red man and the white. The warlike Chickahominies now came to propose a treaty of peace. This fierce and numerous tribe, dwelling on the borders of the Chickahominy, were near neighbors to the English. They had long maintained their independence and refused to acknowledge the sceptre of Powhatan. They now sent two runners to Governor Dale with presents, apologising for all former injuries, and offering to submit themselves to king James, and relinquish the name of Chickahominies and be called Tassautessus, (English.) They desired, however, still to be governed by their own laws, under the authority of eight of their own chiefs.

Accordingly Governor Dale, with Captain Argall and fifty men, on the banks of the Chickahominy, concluded a treaty of peace with them, and they ratified it by acclamation. An aged warrior then arose and explained the treaty, addressing himself successively to the old men, the young, and the women and children. The Chickahominies, apprehensive of being reduced under the despotism of Powhatan, sheltered themselves under the protection of the whites; what a proof of the atrocious barbarity of a race, whose imaginary virtues have been so often celebrated by poets, orators and historians, and who have been described as renewing the golden age of innocent felicity!

Although unavoidable at first, the system of working in common and being fed out of the public store, had hitherto paralyzed industry and retarded the growth of the Colony. An important alteration was now effected. Sir Thomas Dale allotted to each man three acres of cleared ground, from which he was obliged to contribute to the public store only two and a half barrels of corn. These regulations, raising the colonists above the condition of absolute servitude and creating a new incentive to exertion, proved very acceptable.*

Although Dale's administration, especially at the first, was very rigorous, yet it does not appear that sanguinary punishments were often inflicted. Several of the colonists were executed at different times, for treasonable designs, probably provoked, in some instances at least, by the tyranny of the government. Of one of these unfortunate men, Smith says:—"This *Jeffrey Abbotts*, however this author [Hamor] censures him, and the Gouernour executes him, I know he had long served both in *Ireland* and *Netherlands*; here hee was a sargeant of my companie and I neuer saw in *Virginia* a more sufficient soldier, lesse turbulent, a better wit, more hardy or industrious, nor any more forward to cut off them that sought to abandon the Countrie or wrong the Colonie; how ingratefully those deserts might bee rewarded, enuied or neglected, or his farre inferiors prefered to over-top him, I know not, but such occasions might moue a saint, much more a man, to an vnaduised passionate impatience; how euer it seemes he hath beene punished for his offences that neuer was rewarded for his deserts."

[1613.] The governor, learning that a French colony had been settled in Virginia, about the 44th degree of latitude, despatched Captain Argall to drive them off. His force consisted of seven small vessels, sixty soldiers and fourteen guns. The French colony was found situated on Mount Desert island, near the river Penobscot and within the present bounds of Maine. The French being dispersed in the woods, soon yielded to superior force. Argall supplied the pris-

* Chalmers' Introduction, vol. 1, p. 10. Grahame's Am. Edition, vol. 1, p. 64. Compare Belknap, vol. 2, p. 151. The authorities on the subject are contradictory.

oners with a fishing vessel, in which they returned to France. Fifteen of them, however, and a Jesuit missionary, were brought to Jamestown. Another Jesuit had been slain in the skirmish. On Argall's arrival at Jamestown, he received an order from Gates to return to Acadia and destroy all the French settlements and forts to the 46th degree; which was accordingly executed. This proceeding, according to some writers, was little better than piracy, since the chartered limits of Virginia did not extend beyond the 45th degree; others, however, hold that it was justified by the charter of 1609.

On his return, Argall touched at New Amsterdam, and demanded of the Dutch governor there a surrender of that place to the king of England and the governor of Virginia under him. The colony was accordingly surrendered, but recovered again by the Dutch not long after.*

Ralph Hamer † having received from Sir Thomas Dale leave to visit Powhatan, taking with him Thomas Savage as interpreter and two Indian guides, started from Bermuda in the morning, and reached Matchot on the evening of the next day. Powhatan recognizing the boy, Thomas Savage, said to him, "My child, I gaue you leaue, being my boy, to goe see your friends and these foure yeeres I have not scene you nor heard of my owne man *Numontack*, I sent to *England*, though many ships haue beeene returned from thence." Turning then to Hamer, he demanded the chain of pearl which he had sent to Sir Thomas Dale, at his first arrival, with the understanding that whenever he should send a messenger, he should wear that chain about his neck; otherwise he was to be bound and sent home. Sir Thomas had made such an arrangement, and, on this occasion, had directed his page to give the necklace to Hamer, but the page had forgotten it. However, Hamer being accompanied by two of his own people, Powhatan was satisfied, and conducted him to the royal cabin, where a guard of two hundred bowmen stood always in atten-

dance. He offered his guest a pipe of tobacco, and then enquired after his brother, Sir Thomas Dale, and his daughter, Pocahontas, and his unknown son-in-law, Rolfe, and "how they lived and loved?"

Being answered that Pocahontas was so well satisfied, that she would never live with him again, he laughed and demanded the object of his visit. Hamer gave him to understand that his message was private, to be made known only to him and Papaschicher, one of the guides, who was in the secret. Forthwith Powhatan ordered out all his people, except his two queens, that always sit by him, and bade Hamer deliver his message. He then, by his interpreter, informed him that Sir Thomas Dale had sent him two pieces of copper, five strings of white and blue beads, five wooden combs, ten fish-hooks and a pair of knives, and would give him a grind-stone when he would send for it. Hamer went on to say that his brother, Dale, hearing of the charms of his younger daughter, desired that he would send her to Jamestown, as well because he intended to marry her, as on account of the desire of Pocahontas to see her, and he believed that there could be no better bond of peace and friendship than such an union. While Hamer was speaking, Powhatan repeatedly interrupted him, and when he had ended, the old chief replied:—"I gladly accept your salute of loue and peace, which while I live I shall exactly keepe. His pledges thereof I receiue with no lesse thanks, although they are not so great as I have receiued before. But for my daughter I haue sold her within these few daies to a great Werowance, three days journey from me, for two bushels of Rawrenoake." Hamer:—"I know your highness by returning the Rawrenoake might call her againe, to gratifie his brother, Sir Thomas Dale, and the rather because she is but twelue yeeres old. And besides its forming a band of peace, you shall haue in return for her three times the value of the Rawrenoake in Beads, Copper, Hatchets, &c." Powhatan:—"I loue my daughter as my life, and though I have many children, I delight in none so much as her, and if I should not often see her, I could not possibly live, and if he she liued at Jamestown I could not see her, hauing resolued on no termes to put myselfe into your hands, or go amongst

* Compare the variant accounts of Grahame's History of the U. States, Amer. Edition, vol. 1, p. 65. Stith, p. 133. Bancroft, vol. 1, p. 138. Martin's History of N. C., vol. 1, p. 77. Bancroft dates Argall's Expedition in 1613. Grahame, Stith and Martin in 1614.

† Smith, vol. 2, p. 19. There appears to be a mistake in affixing William Parker's name to the relation of this visit, for it was evidently written by Hamer.

you. Therefore I desire you to vrge me no further, but returne my brother this answer—I desire no firmer assurance of his friendship than the promise hee hath made. From me he has a pledge—one of my daughters, which so long as she liues shall be sufficient; when she dies, he shall haue another. I hold it not a brotherly part to desire to bereave me of my two children at once. Farther tell him that though he had no pledge at all, hee need not fear any iniurie from me or my people; there haue beene too many of his men and mine slaine, and by my provocation there neuer shall be any more, (I who haue power to performe it haue said it,) even if I should haue iust cause, for I am now old and would gladly end my daies in peace; if you offer me iniurie, my countrie is large enough for me to goe from you. This I hope will satisfie my brother. Now since you are wearie and I sleepie we will here end." So Hamer and his companions lodged there that night. While they were at Matchot, they saw William Parker, who had been made prisoner three years before at fort Henry. He had grown so like an Indian in complexion and manner, that his countrymen recognized him only by his language. He begged them to intercede for his release with Powhatan, but upon their undertaking it he replied, " You haue one of my daughters and I am satisfied, but you cannot see one of your men with mee, but you must haue him away or breake friendship; if you must needs have him, you shall goe home without guides, and if any euill befall you thanke your selues." They answered that if any harm befell them he must expect revenge from his brother Dale. At this Powhatan in a passion left them; but returning to supper entertained them with a pleasant countenance. About midnight he awoke them and promised to let them return in the morning with Parker and charged them to remind his brother Dale to send him ten large pieces of copper, a shav-ing knife, a frowl, a grindstone, a net, fish-hooks and other such presents. And lest they might forget, he made them write the list in a book that he had. They requesting him to give them the book, he declined, saying it did him much good to shew it to strangers. *

* Smith, vol. 2, p. 21.

CHAPTER XI.

1614.

Raleigh publishes his "History of the World;" Captain Smith makes a voyage to New England; Pocahontas baptized; Argall returns to England; The Lottery drawn; The Colonists invested with a fixed property in the soil; Sir Thomas Dale embarks for England, accompanied by Pocahontas and her husband; George Yardley deputy Governor; Culture of Tobacco introduced into Virginia; Expedition against the Chickahominies; Pocahontas in England; Captain Smith's recommendation of her to the notice of the Queen; Smith's interview with Pocahontas at Brentford; Tomocomo; Pocahontas presented at Court; Her Death; Her name; Nantaquaus, her brother; Her sisters, Cleopatre and Mattachanna; Pocahontas leaves a son; Her descendants; Vindication of Smith from the censure cast upon him for not having married Pocahontas.

During this year, [1614,] Sir Walter Raleigh published his "History of the World," and Captain John Smith made a voyage to North Virginia and gave it the name of New England.

Pocahontas was now carefully instructed in the Christian religion, and such was her improvement, that after some time she lost all desire to return to her father and retained no fondness for the rude society of her own people. Her union with Rolfe was made happy by mutual devotion. She had already before her marriage openly renounced the idolatry of her country, confessed the faith of Christ and had been baptized. "Master Whitaker," the preacher, in a letter dated June 18th, 1614, "much museth that so few of our English ministers that were so hot against the surplice and subscription come hither, where neither is spoken of."

At the end of June, Captain Argall returned to England with tidings of all these auspicious events. The company then proceeded to draw the lottery, which had been made up to promote the interests of the Colony. This, it is said, was the first instance of raising money by this mode in England. Twenty-nine thousand pounds were thus contributed to the Colony. But Parliament shortly after prohibited this pernicious practice.

The year 1615 is remarkable for the establishment of a fixed property in the soil, fifty acres of land being granted by the company

to every freeman in absolute right.* This salutary change was brought about mainly by the efforts of Sir Thomas Dale, one of the best of our early governors. Sir Thomas having now established good order at Jamestown, appointed George Yeardley to be deputy governor in his absence and embarked for England, accompanied by the Princess Pocahontas and her husband Rolfe. They arrived at Plymouth June 12, 1616. †

“That Aristocraticall Gouvernment by a President and Councell is long since remov'd and those hatefull effects thereof together. Order and diligence have repayred what confusion and idleresse had distempered.” The peace with the Indians “hath yeelded many benefits both opportunity of lawfull purchase of a great part of the Countrey from the Natives freely and willingly relinquishing and selling the same for Copper, or other Commodities, (a thing of no small consequence to the conscience when the milde Law of Nature, not that violent Law of Armes, lays the foundation of their possession.”)

“The places inhabited by the English are Henrico and the limits, Bermuda Nether Hundred, West and Sherley Hundred, James Town, Kequoughtan, Dale's gift.” ‡ At Henrico there were now thirty-eight men and boys, of whom twenty-two were farmers. Rev. William Wickham was the minister at this place. This was the seat of the college established for the education of the natives. Hither they had already brought some of their children of both sexes to be taught. At Bermuda Nether Hundred, [Presquile,] the number of inhabitants was 119. “Captain Yeardley, Deputy-Gouvernor lives most here.” Master Alexander Whitaker, the minister. At West and Shirley Hundred there were twenty-five men under Capt. Madison. At Jamestown fifty under Capt. Francis West. Rev. Mr. Bucke minister. At Kecoughtan Capt. Webb commanded. Rev. Mr. Mays the minister. “Dale's Gift is vpon the Sea neere Cape Charles where were 17 under Lieutenant Cradock.” The total population of the Colony at this time was

three hundred and fifty-one.* Sir Thomas Dale “at one hale with a saine caught five thousand” fish, “three hundred of which were as bigge as Cod, the least of the residue a kind of Salmon Trout two foot long, yet durst he not aduenture on the maine Skul,” [school,] for fear it would destroy his nets.

Yeardley turned the attention of the Colony to tobacco as the most saleable commodity that they could raise, and its cultivation was introduced into Virginia in this year for the first time. † “The English doe now finde this countrey so correspondent to their constitutions, that it is more rare to heare of a man's death in Virginia then in that proportion of people in England.” ‡ The Chickahomines refusing to pay the tribute of corn agreed upon by the treaty, Yeardley went up their river with one hundred men, and after killing some and making some prisoners, brought off a hundred bushels of their corn. On his return he met Opechanough at Ozinies about twelve miles from the mouth of the Chickahominy. In this expedition Henry Spilman, who had been rescued from death by Pocahontas, now a captain, acted as interpreter.

In the meantime Pocahontas, in London, by the care of her husband and friends, was taught to speak English intelligibly. Her manners were softened by English refinement, and her mind enlightened with the truths of religion. Having given birth to a son, the Virginia company provided for the maintenance of them both, and many persons of quality were very kind to her. Before she reached London, Captain Smith, in requital for her former heroic kindness to him, prepared an account of her in “a little booke” and presented it to Queen Anne. But at this time, being about to embark for New England, he could not pay such attentions to her as he desired and she well deserved. Nevertheless, learning that she was staying at Brentford, where she had repaired to avoid the smoke of the city, he went accompanied by several friends to see her. After a modest salutation, without uttering a word, she turned away and hid her face as if displeased. She remained in that posture

* Chalmers' Introdue., vol. 1, p. 10.

† Sir Walter Raleigh after thirteen years of confinement in the Tower had been released on the 17th of March preceding. It is altogether probable that he saw Pocahontas.

‡ Purchas, vol. 5, p. 836.

* Ibid, 836-7.

† Chalmers' Introdue., vol. 1, p. 11.

‡ Purchas his Pilgrims, vol. p. 5, 836.

for two or three hours, her husband, Smith and the rest of the company having quitted the room, and Smith now regretting that he had written to the queen that Pocahontas could speak English. At length, however, she began to talk and touchingly reminded him of the kindness she had shown him in her own country, saying, "you did promise Powhatan, what was yours should bee his and he the like to you; you called him father, being in his land a stranger, and for the same reason so I must call you." But Smith, on account of the king's overweening and preposterous jealousy of the royal prerogative, felt constrained to decline the appellation of "father," for she was a king's daughter.

She then exclaimed with a firm look — "Were you not afraid to come into my father's countrie and cause feare in him and all his people (but mee) and feare you here that I should call you father? I tell you then I will, and you shall call me childe and so I will bee for euer and euer your countrywoman. They did tell vs alwaines you were dead and I knew no other 'till I came to *Plimoth*; yet Powhatan did command *Uttamattomakkin* to seeke you and know the truth, because your countrymen will lie much." It is remarkable that Rolfe, her husband, must have been privy to the deception thus practised on her. Are we to attribute this to his secret fear that she would never marry him until she believed that Smith was dead?

Tomocomo, or Uttamattomakkin, husband of Matachanna, one of Powhatan's daughters, being esteemed a knowing one among his people, Powhatan had sent him out to England in company of Pocahontas, to number the people there, and bring back an account of that country. Upon landing at Plymouth he provided himself according to his instructions with a long stick, and by notching it, undertook to keep a tally of all the men he could see. But he soon grew weary of the task and gave it out in despair. Meeting with Captain Smith in London, Uttamattomakkin told him that Powhatan had ordered him to seek him out, in order that he might show him the English God, the king, queen and prince. Being informed that he had already seen the king, he denied it; but on being convinced of it, he said to Smith, "you gaue Powhatan a white Dog, which Powhatan fed as himselfe, but your king gaue

me nothing and I am better than your white Dog." On his return to Virginia, when questioned by Powhatan as to the number of people in England; he answered, "count the stars in the heavens, the leaves on the trees, the sands on the sea-shore."

During Smith's short stay in London, he went in company with some gentlemen of the court and others of his acquaintance to visit Pocahontas. They were satisfied that the hand of providence was in her conversion and declared that they had "seen many English ladies worse favoured, proportioned and behaviour'd." She was presented by Lady Delaware, attended by the lord her husband and by other persons of quality, to the king and queen, who graciously received her. She was styled "the Lady Pocahontas." She was also present at masquerades and other public entertainments.

Early in 1617, John Rolfe prepared to embark for Virginia, with his wife and child, in Captain Argall's vessel, the George. But at this time it pleased God to take her unexpectedly from the world. She died at Gravesend, on the Thames. As her life had been sweet and lovely, so her death was serene and crowned with the hopes of religion. * Her real name it is reported, was Matoax, † which the people of her nation concealed from the English and changed it to Pocahontas, ‡ from a superstitious fear lest knowing her true name, they should do her some injury. After her conversion, she was baptized by the name of Rebecca. § Her brother Nantaquaus, or Nantaquoud, shewed Captain Smith "exceeding great courtesy," interceding with his father in behalf of the captive, and was "the manliest, comeliest, boldest spirit he ever saw in a savage." One of the sisters of Pocahontas was named Cleopatre, another Matachanna, already mentioned. "Pocahontas, with her wild train, visited Jamestown as freely as her father's habitation," and was "of a great spirit however her stature." She died at the age of twenty-two. Her infant son, Thomas, was

* Smith, vol. 2, p. 33. Stith, p. 146. Campbell's Hist. of Va., p. 52.

† Stith, p. 136 and 285.

‡ The word Pocahontas, according to Heckwelder, signifies a "rivulet between two hills."

§ The ceremony of her baptism has been made the subject of a picture by Chapman, exhibited in the rotunda of the Capitol at Washington.

left for a time at Plymouth, under the care of Sir Lewis Stukely, * and afterwards educated by his uncle, Henry Rolfe, of London. Thomas Rolfe † came over to Virginia; became a person of fortune and note, and left an only daughter, Jane, who married Colonel Robert Bolling, ‡ by whom she left an only son, Major John Bolling, father of Colonel John Bolling, and several daughters, who married respectively Colonel Richard Randolph, Colonel John Fleming, Doctor William Gay, Mr. Thomas Eldridge and Mr. James Murray.

Censure is sometimes, at this day, cast upon Captain Smith for having failed to marry Pocahontas. History, however, has no where given any ground for such a reproach. The rescue of Smith took place in the winter of 1607, when he was twenty-eight § years of age and she only twelve or thirteen. || Smith left Virginia early in 1609, and never returned. Pocahontas was then about fourteen years of age. But had she been older, it would have been impossible for him to marry her, unless by kidnapping her, as was done by the unscrupulous Argall some years afterwards,—a measure which if it had been adopted in 1609, when the colony was feeble and torn by faction, would probably have excited the vengeance of Powhatan and overwhelmed the plantation in premature ruin. It was in 1612 that Argall captured Pocahontas on the banks of the Potomac. From the departure of Smith, until this time, she never had been seen at Jamestown, but had lived on the Potomac incognito. ¶

* Stith, pp. 144-46. Stukely was vice-admiral of Devon. Afterwards, by his treachery to Sir Walter Raleigh, he covered himself with infamy and by corrupt practises reduced himself to beggary.

† I have been informed by Mr. Richard Randolph of Williamsburg, that this Thomas Rolfe married a Miss Poyers.

‡ He lies buried at Farmingdale, in the county of Prince George. The inscription on his tombstone is as follows: "Here lyeth interred in hope of a joyful resurrection the body of Robert Bolling the son of John & Mary Bolling of Alhallowes, Barkin Parish Tower Street London. He was born the 26th of December in the year 1646 and came to Virginia October the 2d 1660 and departed this life the 17th day of July 1709 aged 62 years six months and twenty-one days."

The portrait of Jane Rolfe, grand-daughter of Pocahontas, is still preserved.

§ This appears from an inscription on his likeness, prefixed to his History of Virginia.

|| Stith, p. 55.

¶ Stith, p. 127.

In the spring of 1613, it is stated that "long before this, Mr. John Rolfe" "had been in love with Pocahontas and *she with him.*"—This attachment, therefore, must have been formed immediately after her capture, if it did not exist before. The marriage took place in April 1613. It is true that Pocahontas had been told that Smith was dead; nor did she know otherwise until she reached Plymouth. And in practising this deception, Rolfe must have been a principal party. But Smith was in no manner privy to it. Smith bore for her a friendship animated by the deepest emotions of gratitude; and friendship, according to Spenser, a cotemporary poet, is a more exalted sentiment than love. Pocahontas seems to have regarded Smith with a sort of filial affection, and she accordingly said to him, at Brentford, in that affecting interview:—"I tell you then, I *will* call you father, and you *shall* call me childe." It is true, indeed, that the deception practised on Pocahontas, as to Smith's death, would seem to argue an apprehension on the part of Rolfe and his friends, that she would not marry another if Smith were alive. And the circumstances of the interview would seem to confirm the existence of such an apprehension. Yet, however that may have been, the integrity of Smith stands untarnished.

CHAPTER XII.

1617—1618.

Argall arrives as Governor at Jamestown; Condition of Jamestown; Opechancanough; Powhatan; New mode of curing Tobacco; Statistics of the Colony; Lord Delaware sails for Virginia, dies during the voyage; Argall's tyranny; Brewster's ease; Argall leaves Virginia; His character; Powhatan's death; His name, personal appearance, dominions, manner of life, character; Succeeded by Opitchapan.

At length Argall, now appointed Governor and Admiral, accompanied by Captain Ralph Hamer, set sail for Virginia and arrived at Jamestown [May 1617.] Tomocomo returned at the same time. Argall was welcomed by Captain Yeardley and his company in martial array, the right file of which was led by an Indian. At Jamestown were found but five or six habitable houses, the church fallen, the palisades broken, the bridge foundrous,

the well spoiled, the store-house used for a church; the market-place, streets and other vacant ground planted with tobacco; the savages as frequent in the houses as the English, who were dispersed about planting tobacco. Tomocomo was sent to Opechanough, who came to Jamestown and received a present. Powhatan, having some time previous resigned the cares of government to Opechanough, went about from place to place lamenting the death of Pocahontas, but still continuing in friendship with the English. This year a Mr. Lambert introduced the method of curing tobacco on lines instead of in heaps as was the former practice.* The number of settlers was now about four hundred, with one hundred and twenty-eight head of cattle, eighty-eight goats, with a great many swine and plenty of corn. The corn contributed to the public store was about four hundred and fifty bushels, and from the tributary Indians seven hundred and fifty. Of the "companie's companie" there remained not more than fifty-four, including men, women and children. Drought and hail greatly damaged the crops of corn and tobacco. To re-inforce the Colony the company sent out a vessel of two hundred and fifty tons, well stored, with two hundred and fifty people, under command of Lord Delaware. They sailed [April 1618;] during the voyage thirty died, and among them Lord Delaware, a generous friend of the Colony. Delaware Bay perhaps took its name from him. † Argall, now deputy governor, introduced a system of tyranny into the Colony, borrowed from the obsolete martial laws brought over by Dale. Argall prohibited all trade and intercourse with the Indians; the teaching them the use of arms was made a crime punishable by death. Yet it has been contended by some that the use of fire-arms by the Indians hastened their extermination, because they thus became dependent on the whites for arms and ammunition; when their arms came to be out of order they became useless to them, for they wanted the skill to repair them, and lastly, fire-arms, in their

hands, when effective, were employed by hostile tribes in mutual destruction.*

Under Argall's new Procrustean rule all goods were sold at an advance of twenty-five per cent, and the price of tobacco was fixed at three shillings per pound, under a penalty of three years imprisonment. No man was suffered to fire a gun before a new supply of ammunition, except in self-defence, on pain of a year's slavery. Absence from church on Sundays or holydays was punished by confinement for the night, and one week's slavery to the Colony; and on a second offence, the punishment was enhanced. Several of these regulations, however, seem to have been judicious, but the penalties were some excessively severe, some barbarous. The rigorous enforcement of these regulations rendered Argall odious to the Colony, and a report of his tyranny and extortions having reached England, Lord Delaware had been despatched with instructions to send him home to answer the charges brought against him. However, his lordship dying during the voyage, Argall, upon the arrival of the vessel, came into possession of his letters and instructions. Finding now that his sand was running low and resolving to make hay while the sun yet shone, he multiplied his exactions and grew more tyrannical than ever. The case of Brewster was a remarkable instance of this. A gentleman of consideration in the Colony, he had the management of Lord Delaware's estate there. Argall, without any authority, removed the servants from his lordship's land and employed them on his own. Brewster endeavored to make them return, and being flatly refused by one, threatened him with the consequences of his contumacy. Brewster was immediately arrested by Argall's order, charged with sedition and mutiny and condemned to death by a court-martial. The members of the court, however, and some of the clergy, shocked at such a conviction, interceded earnestly for his pardon. Argall reluctantly granted it, on condition that Brewster should depart from Virginia, with an oath never to return and never to say or do any thing to the disengagement of the deputy governor. Brewster, however, on his return to England [1618]

* Stith, 147.

† "And I think I have somewhere seen that he died about the mouth of Delaware Bay, which thence took its name from him." Stith, 148. Belknap, v. 2, 115-6.

* "The white faith of history cannot show,
That e'er a musket yet could beat the bow."

Cited in Logan's *Scottish Gaél*, 223.

discarding the obligation of an extorted oath, appealed to the company against the tyranny of the deputy governor, and the inhuman sentence was reversed.* But before a new governor arrived in Virginia, Argall embarked in a vessel laden with his effects. Being a relation to Sir Thomas Smith the treasurer, and a partner in trade of the profligate Earl of Warwick, he escaped with impunity. [1620.] He commanded a ship of war in an expedition against the Algerines, and [1623] was knighted by king James. The character of Argall is variously represented. He seems to have been an expert mariner of talent, courage, and enterprise, but selfish, unscrupulous, arbitrary and cruel.

Powhatan died [April 1618,] being upwards of seventy years of age. He was so called perhaps from the place of that name, † one of his residences, or from the river Powhatan. But his proper name was Wahunsanacock. The country subject to him was called Powhatan and his subjects Powhatans. He was tall, well-proportioned and athletic. [1607.] When about sixty years of age his hair was sprinkled with grey,—his beard very thin. He held by hereditary right Powhatan, Arrohattox, Appomattox, Pamaunkee, Youghtanund and Matapanient. The rest of his possessions he acquired by conquest. In each of his hereditary dominions he had houses built like arbors, thirty or forty yards long. Whenever he was about to visit one of these, it was supplied with provision for his entertainment. The English, upon their first arrival, found him at a place of his own name. Afterwards, however, his favorite residence was Werowocomoco; but in his latter years, disliking the neighborhood of the English, he withdrew himself to Orapakes in the “desert,” between the Chickahominy and the Pamunkey. It is not unlikely that he died and was buried there; for a mile thence, in a thicket of wood, he had a house where he kept his treasure of furs, copper, pearl and beads, “which he storeth vp against the time of his death and buriali.” ‡

* Burk, vol. 1, pp. 197-8, attributes the order for Argall's recall to Brewster's appeal to the company, and on the next page, says that the outrage on Brewster was committed by Argall *after* the order for his recall. See also Chalmers' Introd., vol. 1, p. 11. John Rolfe made light of the affair. Smith, vol. 2, p. 37.

† Stith, 53.

‡ Smith, vol. 1, p. 143.

At the time of the first settlement of the Colony, Powhatan was usually attended, especially when asleep, by a body-guard of fifty tall warriors. He afterwards augmented their number to about two hundred. He had as many wives as he pleased, and when tired of any one of them bestowed her on some favorite. [1608.] By treachery he surprised the Payanketanks, his own subjects, while asleep in their cabins, massacred twenty-four men, made prisoners their Werowance with the women and children, who were reduced to slavery. Captain Smith saw the scalps of the twenty-four slain, at Werowocomoco, suspended on a line between two trees. “Powhatan caused certaine malefactors to be bound hand and foot, then having of many fires gathered great store of burning coals, they rake these coales round in the forme of a cockpit,” and the offenders were thrown in the midst to be burnt to death.* His character was, however, not destitute of better qualities, and in him we see some touches of princely magnanimity curiously blended with low cunning, and the cruelty of an unrelenting tyrant with the tenderness of a doting father.

He was succeeded by Opitcheapan, his second brother, known afterwards by the name of Itopatin or Oeatan. Upon his accession he again changed his name to Sasawpen as Opechaneanough changed his to Mangopeomen.

CHAPTER XIII.

1618.

Death of Sir Walter Ralagh; His birth and parentage; Student at Oxford; Enlists in a Volunteer Company to aid the queen of Navarre; His stay in France; Returns to England; Resident at the Middle Temple; Serves in the Netherlands and in Ireland; Returns to England; His Gallantry; Undertakes the Colonization of Virginia; Chosen member of Parliament; Knighted; Engaged in Portuguese expedition; Loses favor at Court; Retires to Ireland; Spenser; Sir Walter confined in the Tower; His flattery of the Queen; She grants him the Manor of Sherborne; Raleigh's expeditions to Guiana; Joins an expedition against Cadiz; Wounded; Makes another voyage to Guiana. Restored to the Queen's favor; Contributes to the defeat of the treason of Essex; Raleigh made Governor of Jersey; His liberal senti-

* Smith, vol. 1, pp. 144-145.

ments; Elizabeth's death; Accession of James 1st; Raleigh confined in the Tower; Accused of high treason; His trial; Found guilty; Reprieved; Still a prisoner in the Tower; Devotes himself to Literature and Science; His companions; His "History of the World;" Lady Raleigh's petition to James; Raleigh released; Embarks in his last expedition to Guiana; Its failure; His son slain; Sir Walter's return to England; His arrest; Condemnation; Execution; Character.

In this year also died the founder of Virginia colonization, Sir Walter Raleigh. He was born at Hayes, a farm in the parish of Budley, Devonshire, [1552,] being the fourth son of Walter Raleigh, Esq., of Fardel, near Plymouth, and Catherine, daughter of Sir Philip Champernon and widow of Otho Gilbert, of Compton, Devonshire. After passing some time at Oriel College, Oxford, about the year [1568,] where he distinguished himself by his genius and attainments, at the age of seventeen he joined a volunteer company of one hundred gentlemen, under Henry Champernon, in an expedition to assist the Protestant queen of Navarre. He remained in France five years, and under the protection of the English embassy, witnessed the massacre of St. Bartholomew's day. On returning to England, he was for a while in the Middle Temple, but whether as a student, is uncertain. His leisure was given to poetry. [1578.] He accompanied Sir John Norris to the Netherlands. [1579.] He joined in the first and unsuccessful voyage of Sir Humphrey Gilbert. Now at the age of 27, it is said that of the twenty-four hours he allotted four to study and only five to sleep. This, however, is improbable, for so much activity of employment as always characterized him, demanded a proportionate repose. [1580.] He served in Ireland as captain of horse under lord Grey, and became familiar with the dangers and barbarities of civil war. [1581.] He became acquainted with the poet Spenser, then resident at Kilcolman. Disgusted with a painful service, Raleigh returned to England in this year. It was at this time that he exhibited a famous piece of gallantry to the queen. She, in a walk, coming to a "plashy place" hesitated to proceed, when he "cast and spread his new plush cloak on the ground" for her to tread on. By his wit and grace he rose rapidly in Elizabeth's favor, and "she took him for a kind of oracle." His munificent and persevering

efforts in the colonization of Virginia, ought to have moderated the sweeping charge of levity and fickleness brought against him by Hume. [1583.] Raleigh became member of Parliament for Devonshire, was knighted and made seneschal of Cornwall and warden of the Stanneries. Engaged in the expedition to place Don Antonio on the throne of Portugal, Sir Walter, for his good conduct, received a gold chain from the queen. The rivalry of the Earl of Essex having driven him into temporary exile in Ireland, he there renewed his acquaintance with the author of "The Faery Queen." Spenser returned with him to England. Sir Walter was arrested [1592] and confined in the Tower, on account of a criminal intrigue with one of the maids of honor. The young lady was imprisoned at the same time. She was Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, and a celebrated beauty. Sir Walter afterwards married her. In a letter written from the Tower to Sir Robert Cecil, Raleigh indulged in the most extravagant flattery of the queen: "I that was wont to behold her, riding like Alexander, hunting like Diana, walking like Venus, the gentle wind blowing her fair hair about her pure cheeks like a nymph, sometime sitting in the shade like a goddess, sometime singing like an angel, sometime playing like Orpheus." [1593.] Elizabeth granted him the manor of Sherborne in Dorsetshire. About this period he distinguished himself, by his ability and eloquence, in the House of Commons. [1595.] He commanded an expedition to Guiana, in quest of El Dorado, and another in the following year. In an expedition against Cadiz, he led the van in action, and received a severe wound in the leg. Upon his return to England he embarked in his third expedition to Guiana. [1597.] He was restored to his place of Captain of the Guard, and regained fully the queen's favor. Essex having engaged in a treasonable conspiracy, Raleigh contributed to defeat his designs. But after the execution of his rival, Raleigh's good fortune began to wane. However, [1600,] he was made Governor of the Isle of Jersey. [1601.] In a speech in Parliament on an act for sowing hemp, Sir Walter said: "For my part, I do not like this constraining of men to manure or use their grounds at our wills, but rather let every man use his ground to

that which it is most fit for, and therein use his discretion." Elizabeth died [1603] and Raleigh's happiness expired with her.

James I. came to the throne prejudiced against Raleigh. He was also very unpopular. In three months after the arrival of James in England, Sir Walter was arrested on a charge of high treason. Arraigned on charges frivolous and contradictory, tried under circumstances of cruelty, insult and oppression, he was found guilty without evidence. By their brutal and malignant conduct on this occasion, Sir Edward Coke, Lord Chief Justice Popham and Sir Robert Cecil, proved themselves fit tools for the abject and heartless James. Raleigh, though reprieved, remained a prisoner in the Tower at the king's mercy. Lady Raleigh and her son were not excluded from the Tower. Carew, the youngest, was born there. During his long confinement, Sir Walter devoted himself to literature and science. He enjoyed the society of a few friends, among them Hariot and the Earl of Northumberland, who was also a State prisoner. Sir Walter was frequently visited by Prince Henry, the heir apparent, who was devoted in his attachment to him, and who said that "none but his father would keep such a bird in a cage." In the Tower, Raleigh composed his great work, "The History of the World." The first volume appeared [1614,] extending from the creation to the close of the Macedonian war, and embracing a period of about 4,000 years. It was dedicated to Prince Henry. Raleigh intended to compose two other volumes, but owing to the untimely death of that Prince, and perhaps to the magnitude of the task, he proceeded no further than the first volume. During his confinement, king James lavished his estate of Sherborne on the miserable minion, Car. And when Lady Raleigh, with her children around her, appeared at Court, and kneeling, in tears, besought James to restore her property, the only answer she received from this pusillanimous king was, "I maun have the land, I maun have it for Car." At length, owing to the death of some of his enemies and the influence of money, Raleigh was released from the Tower for the purpose of making another voyage to Guiana. The expedition failed in its object; Sir Walter lost his son in an action with the Spaniards, and

on his return to England was arrested. James was now bent on effecting a match between his son and the Spanish Infanta. To gratify the Court of Spain and his own malice, he resolved to sacrifice Raleigh. He was condemned under the old conviction, although he had lately been commissioned commander of a fleet and Governor of Guiana. "He was condemned, (said his son, Carew,) for being a friend of the Spaniards, and lost his life for being their bitter enemy." He was executed [29th of October, 1618,] in the old palace yard, and died with Christian heroism. He was distinguished as a navigator, a negotiator, a naval commander, a military officer, an author in verse and in prose, a wit, a courtier, a statesman, a philosopher. There is perhaps in English history no other name associated with so lofty and versatile a genius, so much glorious action, and so much wise reflection. He was proud, fond of splendor, of a restless and fiery ambition, sometimes unscrupulous. An ardent imagination, excited by the enthusiasm of the age, infused an extravagance into some of his relations, that gave occasion for distrust, and involved him in several unhappy projects. These, however, are but spots on the disc of his fame, and Virginia will ever pride herself on so illustrious a founder.*

CHAPTER XIV.

1619—1621.

Sir Edwin Sandys Treasurer; His character; Captain Powell Deputy Governor; Sir George Yeardley Governor; First Assembly meets in Virginia; Affairs of the Colony; English Puritans land at Plymouth in New England; Negroes introduced into Virginia; Supplies sent out from England; Wives for the Colonists; England claims a monopoly of the Virginia tobacco; Charitable Donations; Sir Francis Wyatt Governor; New frame of Government; Instructions for the Governor and Council; George Sandys Treasurer in Virginia; Notice of his Life and published Works; The productions of the Colony.

[1619.] Sir Thomas Smith, treasurer of the

* Tyller's Life of Raleigh. Oldys' Life of Raleigh, p. 71. Belknap, vol. 1, article Raleigh, pp. 289-370. "A Brief Relation of Sir Walter Raleigh's troubles." Harleian, Mis. No. 100. There are also Lives of Raleigh, by Birch, Cayley, Southey and Mrs. Thompson.

company, resigned his place and was succeeded by Sir Edwin Sandys. This enlightened statesman and excellent man, was born in Worcestershire [1561,] being the second son of the Archbishop of York. Educated at Oxford, under "the judicious Hooker," he obtained a prebend in the church of York. He afterwards travelled in foreign countries and published his observations, in a work entitled "Europæ Speculum." He resigned his prebend [1602,] was knighted by James, and employed in diplomatic trusts. His appointment as Treasurer gave great satisfaction to the Colony; for although Hooker had been his teacher, free principles were now, under his auspices, in the ascendant.*

When Argall, in April, stole away from Virginia, he left for his deputy, Captain Nathaniel Powell. This gentleman had come over with Captain Smith [1607,] and had evinced courage and discretion. He was one of the writers from whose narrative Smith compiled his General History. Powell, however, held his office only about ten days, when Sir George Yeardley, just knighted, arrived as Governor General, bringing with him new charters for the colony. Yeardley added to the Council Captain Francis West, Captain Nathaniel Powell, John Rolfe, William Wickham and Samuel Maccock.† Rolfe, who had been Secretary, now lost his place, probably owing to his connivance at Argall's malepractices and was succeeded by John Pory.‡ In June of this year, [1619,] the new Governor General summoned the first Legislative Assembly that ever met in Virginia. It was convened in July. Its privileges and powers were defined in his commission. It consisted of the Governor and Council and two Burgesses from each town, hundred and plantation. The number of Burgesses § in attendance at this first session was twenty-two. All the members of this miniature parliament

* Blake's Biog. Dic. Sir Edwin is sometimes called Sandis, sometimes Sands.

† Maccock's, the seat on James river, was called after this planter, who was the first proprietor.

‡ Chalmers' Introduction, vol. 1, p. 12.

§ "Counties not being then laid off, the representatives of the people were elected by townships; the boroughs of Jamestown, Henrico, Bermuda Hundred and others sending their members to the Assembly, from which circumstance the lower house was first called the house of *Burgesses*."—Hening's Statutes at large, vol. 1, p. 120 in note, citing Stith, p. 160.

sate together in one apartment, "where were debated all matters thought expedient for the Colony." Thus, after twelve years of suffering, peril, discord and tyranny, intermingled however with much of romantic adventure, bold enterprise, virtuous fortitude and generous devotion, were established a local legislature and a regular administration of right.* The Virginia planters received as a favor, what they had been too feeble to exact as a right. They expressed their gratitude to the company, and begged them to reduce into a compend, with his majesty's approbation, such of the laws of England as were applicable to Virginia, "with suitable additions," because "it was not fit that his subjects should be governed by any other rules than such as received their influence from him." The acts of this early Assembly were transmitted to England for the approbation of the treasurer and company, without which they were of no validity. No record of them remains, but it was said, "that they were very judiciously formed." † There was granted to the old planters a discharge from all compulsive service to the colony, with a confirmation of their estates, which were to be holden as by English subjects. Finding a scarcity of corn, Yeardley now promoted the cultivation of it. This year was remarkable for abundant crops of wheat and Indian corn. But an extraordinary mortality carried off not less than three hundred of the people.

Three thousand acres of land were allotted to the governor and twelve thousand to the company. "The Margaret" of Bristol arrived with twenty-four men, "and also many devout gifts." "The Trial" brought a cargo of corn and cattle. The expenditure of the Virginia Company at this period, on account of the Colony, was estimated at between four and five thousand pounds a year.

A body of English Puritans, persecuted on account of their non-conformity, had [1608] sought an asylum in Holland. [1617.] They conceived the design of removing to America. [1619.] They obtained from the London Company, by the influence of Sir Edwin Sandys, the treasurer, "a large patent" au-

* Stith, p. 157. Chalmers' Annals, p. 44. Belknap, v. 2, p. 161-65.

† Hening, p. 122 in note. The committee of the company found these acts "exceeding intricate and full of labor."

thorizing them to settle in Virginia. [December 1619.] "The Pilgrims" landed at Plymouth and laid the foundation of the New England States. [August 1619.] A Dutch man-of-war visited Jamestown and sold the settlers twenty negroes, the first ever introduced into Virginia.*

Japazaws sent for two vessels to trade on the Potomac, as the corn was abundant. A barque of five tons came in from England during the winter. The diminutive size of vessels then employed in navigating the ocean is an extraordinary feature of that age. Eleven vessels were sent out by this company in this year, bringing over twelve hundred and sixteen settlers, who were disposed of in the following way; eighty tenants for the governor's land, one hundred and thirty for the company's land, one hundred for the college, fifty for the glebe, ninety young women for wives, fifty servants, fifty whose labors were to support thirty Indian children; the rest were distributed among private plantations. The wives were sold to the Colonists for one hundred and twenty pounds of tobacco. The price afterwards became higher. The bishops, by the king's orders, collected nearly £1,500 to build a college in Virginia for the education of Indian children. The population of the Colony in 1620 was estimated at four thousand.† One hundred "disorderly persons" or convicts, sent over in the previous year by the king's order, were employed as servants. For a brief interval the Virginia Company had enjoyed freedom of trade with the Low Countries, where they sold their tobacco. But [1621] this was prohibited by an order in council. From this time England claimed a monopoly of the trade of her plantations, and this principle was gradually adopted by all the European powers, as they acquired transatlantic settlements.‡

Two persons unknown presented some plate and ornaments for the communion-tables at the College and at "Mrs. Mary Rob-

inson's Church," towards the foundation of which she had contributed two hundred pounds. Another person incognito gave five hundred and fifty pounds for the education of Indian children in Christianity. This modest and munificent philanthropist subscribed himself "Dust and Ashes." He was afterwards discovered to be Mr. Gabriel Barber, a member of the company.*

Sir George Yeardley's term of office expiring, the company's council appointed Sir Francis Wyatt governor, a young gentleman of Ireland, whose education, family, fortune and integrity recommended him for the place. He arrived in October 1621, with a fleet of nine sail, and brought over a new frame of government for the Colony, constituted by the company and dated July 24th, 1621—establishing a council of state and a general assembly—vesting the governor with a negative upon the acts of the assembly—this body to be convoked by him, in general, once a year, and to consist of the council of state and of two burgesses from every town, hundred or plantation—the trial by jury secured—no act of the assembly to be valid unless ratified by the company in England, and on the other hand, no order of the company to be obligatory upon the Colony without the consent of the assembly. A commission of the same date recognized Sir Francis as the first governor under the new form of government. And this famous ordinance became the model of every subsequent provincial form of government in the Anglo-American colonies.†

Wyatt received also a body of instructions intended for the permanent guidance of the governor and council. He was to provide for the service of God, in conformity with "the Church of England, as near as may be;"—to be obedient to the king and to administer justice according to the laws of England; "not to injure the natives, and to forget old quarrels now buried;" "to be industrious and suppress drunkenness, gaming and excess in cloaths; not to permit any but the council and heads of hundreds to wear gold in their cloaths or to wear silk till they make

* "Smith, vol. 2, p. 39, where Rolfe gives the date 1619. Stith, p. 171. Beverley, B. 1, p. 37. Chalmers' Annals, p. 49. Burk, vol. 1, p. 211, and Hening, vol. 1, p. 146, all, as Bancroft, vol. 1, p. 177 remarks, rely on Beverley. It may be added that they all were misled by him in making the date 1620."

† Chalmers' Introduc., vol. 1, p. 14.

‡ Ib. 15.

* Stith, 216.

† Chalmers' Introduc., vol. 1, p. 13-16. Belknap, vol. 2, p. 174. The Ordinance and Commission may be seen in Hening, vol. 1, p. 110-13.

it themselves;" not to offend any foreign prince; to punish pirates; to build forts; to endeavor "to convert the heathens," and "each town to teach some" of the Indian "children fit for the college intended to be built;" to cultivate corn, wine and silk; to search for minerals, dyes, gums and medicinal drugs, and to "draw off the people from the excessive planting of tobacco;" to take a census of the Colony; "to put apprentices to trades and not let them forsake their trades for planting tobacco or any such useless commodity;" "to build water-mills;" "to make salt, pitch, tar, soap, ashes," &c; "to make oyl of walnuts and employ apothecaries in distilling lees of beer;" "to make small quantity of tobacco and that very good." *

Wyatt, entering upon his government, November 18, immediately dispatched "master Thorpe" to renew the treaties of peace and friendship with Opechancanough. He was found apparently well affected and ready to confirm the pledges of harmony. A vessel from Ireland brought in eighty settlers, who planted themselves at Newport's News. The company sent out during this year twenty-one vessels, navigated with upwards of four hundred sailors, and bringing thirteen hundred men, women and children. The aggregate number of immigrants in 1621 and 1622 was three thousand five hundred. †

With Sir Francis Wyatt, came over, as Treasurer in Virginia, George Sandys, brother of Sir Edwin Sandys, treasurer of the company in England. George Sandys was born [1577.] After passing some time at Oxford, [1610] he travelled over Europe to Turkey and visited Palestine and Egypt. He published his travels, at Oxford [1615,] and they were received with great favor. In Virginia he devoted his leisure to a translation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, which was published [1626] and dedicated to King Charles I. He published several other works and enjoyed the favor of ~~the~~ literary men of his day. Having lived chiefly in retirement, he died [1643] at the house of Sir Francis Wyatt, in Bexley, Kent.

[1615.] Twelve different commodities had been shipped from Virginia; tobacco and sassafras were now the only exports. The

company in England imported during the year 1619 twenty thousand pounds of tobacco, the entire crop of the preceding year. James I. endeavored to draw a "prerogative" revenue from what he justly termed "a pernicious weed," and against which he had published his "counterblast," but was checked by a resolution of the Commons. At the end of seventy years there were annually imported into England more than fifteen millions of pounds of tobacco, from which was derived a revenue of upwards of £100,000. †

[November and December 1621.] An assembly was held at James City. Acts were passed to encourage the planting of mulberry trees and the culture of silk. This culture so early commenced in Virginia and of late years so warmly urged, appears still unsuccessful. Are we to infer that the climate of Virginia is incompatible with that sort of production or that the population is too thin?

CHAPTER XV.

1622.

The Massacre; Its Origin; Nemattanow; Opechancanough; Security of the Colonists; Hypocrisy of the Indians; Particulars of the Massacre; Thorpe, Powell, Causie, Baldwin, Harrison, Hamer; Consequences of the Massacre; Brave defence of some of the Colonists; Supplies sent from England in relief of the Colony; Capt. Smith; Ralclgh Crashaw and Opechancanough; Captain Madison massacres a party of Indians; Sir George Yeardley invades the Nansemonds and the Pamunkies; They are driven back; Reflections on the extermination of the Indians.

On the 22nd of March, 1622, a memorable massacre occurred in the Colony. It was supposed to have originated in the following circumstances. There was a famous chief among the Indians named Nemattanow, or "Jack of the Feather," so styled from his fashion of decking his hair. He was reckoned by his own people invulnerable to the arms of the English. Nemattanow, visiting one of the settlers named Mor-

* Hening, vol. 1, p. 114-17. Belknap, vol. 2, p. 174-5.
† Chalmers' Annals, 57.

† Chalmers' Introd., vol. 1, p. 13. April 17, 1621, the House of Commons debated whether it was expedient to prohibit the importation of tobacco entirely. They determined to exclude all save from Virginia and the Somer Isles. It was estimated that the consumption of England amounted to 1000 lbs. per diem. Chalmers' Annals, 70-73.

gan, persuaded him to go to Pamunkey to trade and murdered him by the way. Nemattanow in two or three days returned to Morgan's house and finding there two young men, Morgan's servants, who enquired for their master, answered them that he was dead. The young men seeing their master's cap on the Indian's head, suspected the murder and undertook to conduct him to Master Thorpe, who then lived at Berkeley, on the James river.* Nemattanow, however, so exasperated them on the way, that the young men shot him, and he falling, they put him into a boat, to convey him to the governor, distant seven or eight miles. The wounded chief in a short while died. Feeling the approaches of death, he begged the young men not to disclose that he was killed with a bullet. So strong is the aspiration for posthumous fame even in the breast of an untutored savage! Opechancanough, the ferocious chief of the Pamunkies, was agitated with mingled emotions of grief and indignation at the loss of his favorite Nemattanow, and at first uttered threats of revenge.

The retorted menaces of the English made him smother his resentment and dissemble his dark designs under the cloak of friendship. And thus, upon Sir Francis Wyatt's arrival, all suspicion of Indian treachery had died away; the Colonists in fancied security were in general destitute of arms; the plantations lay dispersed as caprice or a rich vein of land allured; their houses everywhere open to the Indians, who fed at their tables and lodged under their roofs. About the middle of March, a messenger being sent upon some occasion to Opechancanough, he entertained him kindly and protested that he held the peace so firm, that "the sky should fall before he broke it." On the 20th of the month the Indians guided some of the English safely through the forest, and to lull all suspicion, they sent one Brown, who was sojourning among them to learn their language, back home to his master. They went so far as even to borrow boats of the whites to cross the river when about holding a council on the meditated massacre. It took place on Friday,

the 22nd of March, 1622. On the evening before, and on that morning, the savages as usual came unarmed into the houses of the planters, with fruits, fish, turkeys and venison to sell. In some places they actually sate down to breakfast with the English. At about the hour of noon the savages rising suddenly and everywhere at the same time, butchered the colonists with their own implements, sparing neither age, sex nor condition. Three hundred and forty-seven men, women and children fell in a few hours. The infuriated savages wreaked their vengeance even on the dead, dragging and mangling the lifeless bodies, smearing their hands in blood and bearing off the torn and yet palpitating limbs as trophies of a brutal triumph.

Among the victims was master George Thorpe, a kinsman of Sir Thomas Dale, deputy to the College lands and one of the principal men of the colony.* This pious gentleman had labored much for the conversion of the Indians, and had exhibited towards them nothing but kindness. As an instance of this,—they having at one time expressed their fears of the English mastiff dogs, he had caused some of them to be put to death before them, to the great displeasure of their owners. Opechancanough inhabiting a paltry cabin, master Thorpe had built him a handsome house after the English manner.† But these miscreants, equally deaf to the voice of humanity and insensible to the emotions of gratitude, murdered their benefactor with every circumstance of barbarity. He had been warned of his danger by a servant, but making no effort to escape, fell a victim to his misplaced confidence. With him ten others were massacred at Berkley.

Another of the slain was Captain Nathaniel Powell, one of the first settlers, a brave soldier and who had for a brief interval filled the place of Governor of the Colony. His family fell with him. Another of Captain Smith's old soldiers, Nathaniel Causie, when severely wounded and surrounded by the Indians, slew one of them with an axe, and put the rest to flight. At Warrasqueake, Mr.

* Stith, p. 200. This old plantation is a well-known seat of the Harrisons. It was originally called Brickley, as appears from Smith, vol. 2, p. 75.

* He had been of the King's bedchamber, Stith, p. 211.

† The chief was so charmed with it, especially with the lock and key, that he locked and unlocked the door an hundred times a day.

Baldwin, by repeatedly firing his gun, saved himself and family and divers others. The savages at the same time made an attempt upon the house of a planter, named Harrison (near Baldwin's) where were Thomas Hamer, with six men and eighteen or nineteen women and children. The Indians tried to inveigle Hamer out of the house, by pretending that Opechancanough was hunting in the neighboring woods and desired to have his company. But he not coming out, they set fire to a tobacco-house. The men ran towards the fire and were pursued by the Indians, who pierced them with arrows and beat out their brains. Hamer having finished a letter that he was writing and suspecting no treachery, went out to see what was the matter, when being wounded in the back with an arrow, he returned to the house and barricaded it. Meanwhile Harrison's boy finding his master's gun loaded, fired it at random and the Indians fled. Baldwin still continuing to discharge his gun, Hamer, with twenty-two others, withdrew to his house, leaving their own in flames. Hamer next retired to a new house that he was building and there defending himself with spades, axes and brickbats, escaped the fury of the savages. The master of a vessel lying in the James river, sent a file of musqueteers ashore, who recaptured from the enemy the Merchant's Store-house. In the neighborhood of Martin's Hundred, seventy-three persons were butchered, yet a small family there escaped and heard nothing of the massacre for two days.

Thus fell in so short a space of time one-twelfth part of the colonists, including six members of the council. The destruction might have been universal but for the disclosure of a converted Indian, named Chanco, who, during the night before the massacre, revealed the plot to one Richard Pace, with whom he lived. Pace upon receiving this intelligence, after fortifying his own house, repaired before day to Jamestown and gave the alarm to Sir Francis Wyatt, the Governor. His vigilance saved a large part of the Colony.*

Famine, with its horrors, now threatened

* Purehas, vol. 4, p. 1788-90. Smith, vol. 2, p. 65-70. A list of the slain may be found on page 75. Eleven were killed at Berkley, two at Westover, five at Maeocks, six at Flower-de-Hundred, twenty-one of Sir George Yeardley's people at Weyanoke, &c.

to follow in the train of massacre.* The consternation of the survivors so unmanned them, that twenty or thirty days elapsed before any plan of defence was concerted. Many were urgent to abandon the James river and take refuge on the Eastern Shore, where some newly settled plantations had escaped the ravages of this disaster.† At length it was determined to abandon the weaker plantations and to concentrate their numbers in five or six well fortified places, Shirley Hundred, Flower-de-Hundred, Jamestown with Paspahey and the plantations opposite to Kiquotan and Southampton Hundred. A large part of the cattle and effects of the planters thus fell a prey to the enemy. Nevertheless, a planter, "Master Gookins," at Newport's News, refused to surrender his plantation, and held out there with singular spirit. Samuel Jordan, too, with the aid of a few refugees, maintained his ground at Beggars' Bush; ‡ as also did Mr. Edward Hill at Elizabeth City. "Mistrisse Proctor, a proper, ciuill, modest gentlewoman," defended herself and family for a month after the massacre, until at last forced to retire by the English officers, who threatened if she refused, to burn her house down, which was done by the Indians shortly after her withdrawal. Captain Newee of Elizabeth City, and his wife, distinguished themselves by their liberality to the sufferers. Several families escaped to the country afterwards known as North Carolina, and settled there. §

When the news of the catastrophe reached England, the king granted the company some unserviceable arms out of the tower, and lent them twenty barrels of powder; Lord St. John of Basing, gave sixty coats of Mail; the privy council sent out supplies, and the city of London despatched one hundred settlers.|| Captain John Smith undertook, if the company would send him to Virginia with a small force, to reduce the savages to subjection and protect the colony from future assaults. His project, however, failed on account of the dissensions of the company and

* Chalmers' Introduction, vol. 1, p. 18.

† Stith, p. 235.

‡ Afterwards called "Jordan's Point," and known as the seat of Richard Bland, a revolutionary patriot.

§ Martin's History of North Carolina, vol. 1, p. 87.

|| Smith, vol. 2, p. 79. Chalmers' Introduction, vol. 1, p. 19. Belknap, vol. 2, p. 185. The king promised to send out four hundred soldiers, but he never sent them.

the niggardly terms which were proposed by the few members found to act.

It is worthy of remark that the event justified the policy of Argall in prohibiting intercourse with the natives. Had that measure been enforced, the massacre would probably have been prevented. But the violence and corruption of such rulers as Argall, serve to disgrace and defeat the best measures; while the virtues of the good are sometimes perverted to canonize the most pernicious.

During these calamitous events that had befallen the colony, Captain Raleigh Crashaw was engaged in a trading cruise up the Potomac. While there, Opechancanough sent two baskets of beads to the chief, or king, of the Potomacs to bribe him to slay Crashaw and his party, sending him at the same time tidings of the massacre and assurance that, "before the end of two Moones," there would not be an Englishman left in all the country. Japazaws, however, communicated the message to Crashaw, and he, therenpon, sent Opechancanough word, "that he would nakedly fight him, or any of his, with their owne swords." The challenge was declined.

Not long after, Captain Madison, who occupied a fort on the Potomac, suspecting treachery on the part of the tribe there, rashly killed thirty or forty men, women and children, and carried off the Werowance, his son and two of his people prisoners to Jamestown. The captives were, however, in a short time ransomed.

When the corn was ripe, Sir George Yeardley, with three hundred men, invaded the country of the Nansemonds. They setting fire to their cabins and destroying whatever they could not carry away, fled. The English seized their corn and completed the work of devastation. Sailing next to Opechancanough's seat, at the head of York river, Yeardley inflicted the same chastisement on the Pamunkies.* Thus the red men were driven back like hunted wolves from their ancient haunts. While their fate cannot fail to excite compassion, it may be reasonably concluded that the perpetual possession of this country by a few savage tribes, would

have been incompatible with the designs of Providence, in promoting the welfare of mankind. A productive soil could make little return to a people almost destitute of the art and the implements of agriculture and habitually indolent. Navigable rivers, the natural channels of commerce, would have failed in their purpose, had they borne no freight but that of the rude canoe. Forests would have slept in gloomy inutility, where the axe was unknown, and the mineral and metallic treasures of the earth would have remained forever entombed. In Virginia, where the aboriginal population was only one to the square mile, they could not be held occupants of the soil. Their title to the narrow portions which they actually occupied, was indisputable. It was, however, found impossible to occupy the open country to which the savages had no just claim, without also exterminating them from those spots, which rightfully belonged to them. This inevitable necessity actuated the pious puritans of Plymouth, as well as the less scrupulous settlers of Jamestown. The unrelenting hostility of the savages, their perfidy, insidiousness and implacability made this sanguinary measure necessary. In Virginia the first settlers, a small company, in an unknown wilderness, were repeatedly assaulted by the red men. Resistance and retaliation were demanded by the natural law of self-defence. Nor were these settlers voluntary immigrants; the bulk of them had been sent over, without regard to their consent, by the king or the Virginia company. Nor did the king or the company authorize any injustice or cruelty to be exercised towards the natives. On the contrary, the colonists, however unfit, were enjoined to introduce Christianity among them and to propitiate their good will by a humane and lenient treatment. Thus Smith and his comrades, so far from being encouraged to maltreat the Indians, were often hampered in the means of a necessary self-defence, by a fear of offending an arbitrary government at home. It is, as has been remarked by Mr. Jefferson,* by no means true, that all the lands were acquired from the natives by the sword, far the greater portion having been purchased by treaty. If it be objected that the consideration was inadequate; the reply is, that a small consideration was sufficient to compensate

* "Since the newes of the Massacre in Virginia, though the Indians continue their wonted friendship, yet are wee [of New England] more wary of them then before, for their hands have beene embrued in much English blood onely by too much confidence but not by force." Purchas, vol. 4, 1840-41.

* In his Notes on Virginia. See also Purchas 5, p. 836.

for a title, which for the most part had little if any validity. And besides, a larger compensation would oftentimes have been thrown away upon men alike destitute of knowledge and of industry. Groping in the dim twilight of nature and slaves of a gross idolatry, their lives were circumscribed within a narrow circle of animal instincts and the necessities of a precarious subsistence. Cunning, bloody and vindictive, engaged in frequent wars, they knew little of that Arcadian innocence and those scenes of Elysian felicity, of which youthful poets so fondly dream. If an occasional exception occurs, it is but a solitary gleam of light shooting across the surrounding gloom. Still we cannot be insensible to the numerous injuries they have suffered, and cannot but regret that their race could never be blended with our own. The Indian is gone; his cry no longer echoes in the woods, nor is the dip of his paddle heard on the water. The wave of extermination urges him onward to the setting sun, and we behold their tribes fading one by one forever from the map of existence.

CHAPTER XVI.

1623—1625.

King James takes measures to annul the Charter of the Virginia Company; Commissioners appointed to enquire into the affairs of the Colony; Commissioners appointed to proceed to Virginia; Assembly petitions the King; Disputes between the Commissioners and the Assembly; Treachery of Sharpless and his punishment; The Charter of the Virginia Company dissolved; Causes of this proceeding; Character of the Company; The Earl of Southampton.

The court of James I., jealous of the growing power of the Virginia Company and of its too republican spirit, seized upon the occasion of the massacre, to attribute all the calamities of the Colony to its mismanagement and neglect, and thus to frame a pretext for dissolving the charter. [April 1623.] A commission was issued authorizing Sir William Jones, a justice of the common pleas, Sir Nicholas Fortescue, Sir Francis Goston, Sir Richard Sutton, Sir William Pitt, Sir Henry Bourchier and Sir Henry Spilman * to enquire into the affairs of the Colony. By

an order of the privy council the records of the company were seized, the deputy treasurer * imprisoned, and on the arrival of a vessel from Virginia, all the papers on board inspected. In October the King declared his intention to grant a new charter modelled after that of 1606. This astounding order was read three times at a meeting of the company, before they could credit their own ears. They then, by an overwhelming vote, refused to relinquish their charter and expressed a determination to defend it. The King, in order to procure additional evidence against the company, appointed five commissioners to make inquiries in Virginia. Of these John Harvey and John Pory arrived in Virginia early in 1624, † Samuel Matthews and Abraham Percy were planters resident in the Colony and the latter a member of the house of burgesses; John Jefferson, another commissioner, did not come over to Virginia, nor did he take any part in the matter, "being a hearty friend to the company." At first the planters deeming it a dispute between the

* Nicholas Ferrer, (in the old books Farrar,) was born in London, [1592.] educated at Cambridge, where he displayed extraordinary talents, acquirements and piety. Upon quitting the University, he made the tour of Europe, winning the esteem of the learned, "passing through many adventures and perils with a heroism of too elevated a kind to be called romantic, the heroism of piety, and maintaining everywhere an immaculate character." Upon his return he was appointed "King's counsel for the Virginia plantation." [1622.] He was chosen deputy treasurer of the Virginia Company, and so remained till its dissolution. [1624.] In the house of commons, he distinguished himself by his opposition to the political corruption of that day, and then "quitted public life at little more than the age of thirty, in obedience to a religious fancy he had long entertained, and formed of his family and relations a sort of little half popish convent, in which he passed the remainder of his life. Belknap, vol. 2, p. 187, in note. Foster's Miscellanies, 368-9.

The following notice of Ferrar's establishment is extracted from Caudle's "Letters and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell," vol. 1, pp. 69-70. "Crossing Huntingdonshire in his way Northward, his majesty had visited the Establishment of Nicholas Ferrar, at Little Gidding, on the Western border of that county. A surprising Establishment now in full flower, wherein above fourscore persons, including domesticks with Ferrar and his Brother, and aged Mother at the head of them, had devoted themselves to a kind of Protestant Monachism and were getting much talked of in those times. They followed celibacy and merely religious duties; employed themselves in binding of Prayerbooks, embroidery of hassocks, in almsgiving also and what charitable work was possible in that desert region; above all, they kept up night and day a continual repetition of the English Liturgy; being divided into relays and watches, one watch relieving another, as on shipboard and never allowing at any hour the sacred fire to go out."

* Stith says Spilman, Burk Spiller. See Belknap, vol. 2, p. 186, in note.

† Stith, 297. Belknap, p. 2, 189, in note.

crown and the company, in which *they* were not essentially interested, paid but little attention to it. But two petitions defamatory of the Colony and laudatory of Sir Thomas Smith's arbitrary rule, having come to the knowledge of the assembly, [February 1624,] that body prepared spirited replies and drafted a petition to the King, which, with a letter to the privy council and other papers, were entrusted to Mr. John Pountis, a member of the council.* He, however, died during the voyage to England. The letter to the privy council prayed, "that the governors may not have absolute power and that they might still retain the liberty of popular assemblies, than which nothing could more conduce to the public satisfaction and public utility."

The commissioners refused to exhibit their commission and instructions to the assembly, and the assembly refused them access to its records. Pory, one of the commissioners who had lost his place of Secretary to the company by betraying its secrets to the Earl of Warwick, now suborned Edward Sharpless, clerk of the Virginia council, to expose to him copies of the journal of that body and of the house of Burgesses. Sharpless being detected was sentenced to the pillory with the loss of his ears.† The commissioners made a report against the corporation.

[1624.] James I. dissolved the Virginia Company by a writ of Quo Warranto,‡ which was determined only upon a technicality in the pleadings. The company had been obnoxious to the ill will of the King on several grounds. The corporation had become a theatre for rearing leaders of the opposition, many of its members being also members of parliament. The company had chosen a treasurer in disregard of the King's nomination, and in electing Carew Raleigh a member they had made allusions to his father Sir Walter which were probably unpalatable to the author of his death. Besides, the King was greedy of power, which he wanted the sense and the virtue to make a good use of and doubtless hoped to find in Virginia a new field

for extortions. Fortunately for history the company made a copy of its records, which afterwards fell into the hands of a Virginian.*

[1625.] Charles I. succeeding to the crown and principles of his father, took the government of Virginia into his own hands. The company thus extinguished had expended one hundred and fifty thousand pounds in establishing the Colony and transported nine thousand settlers without the aid of government. The number of stockholders, or adventurers, as they were styled, was about one thousand, and the annual value of exports from Virginia was, at the period of the dissolution of the charter, only twenty thousand pounds. The company embraced much of the rank, wealth and talent of the kingdom, near fifty noblemen, several hundred knights and many gentlemen, merchants and citizens. Among the leaders in its courts were Lord Cavendish, afterwards Earl of Devonshire, Sir Edwin Sandys and Sir Edward Sackville, afterwards the celebrated Earl of Dorset, and above all the Earl of Southampton, the patron of Shakspeare.† Although the company was so enlightened and its conduct enlarged, liberal and disinterested, yet so cumbrous a machine was unfit for the planting of a Colony, and their management, it must be confessed, was often wretched. The judicious Captain Smith seems to have approved of the dissolution of the corporation. He and his companions had been rudely displaced by it. Yet as the act provided no compensation for the enormous expenditure incurred, it can be looked upon as little better than confiscation effected by chicane

* Col. Byrd.

† Henry Wriothesley, third Earl of Southampton, [1601,] was connected with the Earl of Essex in his conspiracy to seize the person of Elizabeth. Essex lost his life. Southampton was convicted, attainted and imprisoned during the Queen's life. On the accession of James I. he was liberated and restored, [1603.] He was afterwards made captain of the Isle of Wight and governor of Carisbrooke Castle and [1618] a member of the privy council. [1620.] He was chosen Treasurer of the Virginia Company, contrary to the avowed wishes of the king. The Earl, however, held the office till the charter was dissolved and in its meetings, as well as in parliament, opposed the measures of a feeble and corrupt court. He was grandson of Wriothesley, the famous chancellor of Edward VI., father to the excellent and noble Treasurer Southampton, Grandfather to Rachel Lady Russel, and the friend and patron of Shakspeare. In his later years he commanded an English regiment in the Dutch service and died in the Netherlands, [1624.] Belknap, vol. 2, p. 171, in note. The county of Southampton, Va. probably took its name from this Earl.

* Hening, 1, 120 and 128.

† Stith, 315. Only a piece of one ear was cut off.

‡ The commissioners were appointed October 24, 1623, and the writ of Quo Warranto issued November 10th of the same year, "when the commissioners were hardly out of sight of England." Belknap, vol. 2, p. 190-1, in note.

and tyranny. Nevertheless the result was undoubtedly favorable to the Colony.*

CHAPTER XVII.

1625—1630.

Assembly of 1624; Charles I. Commissions Sir Thomas Wyatt Governor; Assemblies not allowed; Royal Government virtually established in Virginia; Other Colonies on the Atlantic Coast; Wyatt returns to England; Succeeded by Yeardley; His Proclamations; His death; Succeeded by Francis West; Letter of Charles I.; Desires an Assembly to be called; Reply of the Assembly; John Pott Governor; Condition of the Colony; Statistics; Diet; Manner of living; Pott superseded by Harvey; Pott convicted of stealing; Harvey's unpopularity.

An Assembly had been held [March 1624,] and its acts are preserved. They are brief and simple, coming directly to the point, without the tautology of modern statutes, and refer mainly to agriculture, the church establishment and defence against the Indians. † [August 1624.] The king granted a commission, re-nominating Sir Thomas Wyatt Governor, appointing a council during pleasure, and purposely omitting all mention of an assembly, thinking, "so popular a course" the chief source of recent troubles. Thus in effect a royal government was established in Virginia. Hitherto she had been subject to a three-fold legislation of the company, the

crown and her own president or governor and council.*

[1625.] The French had at an early date established themselves in Canada; the Dutch were now colonizing New Netherland; the English were extending their confines in New England and Virginia; while the Spaniards, the first settlers of the coast, still held some feeble posts in Florida.

Wyatt returning to Ireland "to manage his affaires" there, [1626,] was succeeded by Sir George Yeardley. He, during the same year, by proclamation which now usurped the place of law, prohibited the selling of corn to the Indians, made some commercial regulations and directed houses to be palisaded. In the following year, Yeardley dying, was succeeded [November 14th, 1627,] by Francis West.

James I. had made tobacco the subject of extortion and violation of the charter. Charles I., in a letter dated June 16th, 1628, proposed, that a monopoly of the tobacco trade should be granted to him and recommended the culture of several new products, and desired that an assembly should be called to take these matters into consideration.

On the 26th of March ensuing the Assembly replied by demanding a higher price and more favorable conditions than his majesty was disposed to yield. As to the introduction of new staples they explained why that was impracticable. This letter was signed by Francis West Governor, five members of the

* This is candidly admitted by that "faithful chronicler" Stith, although no one could be more strenuously opposed to the means employed.

† Hening's Statutes, vol. 1, pp. 119-20 and 129-30.

The following is a list of members of this early Assembly:

SIR FRANCIS WYATT, Knt. Governor, &c.
Capt. Fran's West. John Pott.
Sir George Yeardley. Capt. Roger Smith.
George Sandys, Treasurer. Capt. Ralph Humer.
and John Pountis, of the Council.

BURGESSES.

William Tucker.	Nathaniel Bass.
Jabez Whitakers.	John Willcox.
William Peeine.	Nicholas Marten.
Raleigh Crashaw.	Clement Dilke.
Richard Kingsmell.	Isaack Chaplin.
Edward Blany.	John Chew.
Luke Boyse.	John Utie.
John Pollington.	John Southerne.
Nathaniel Causey.	Richard Bigge.
Robert Adams.	Henry Watkins.
Thomas Harris.	Gabriel Holland.
Richard Stephens.	Thomas Morlatt.
R. Hickman, Clerk.	

* Chalmers' Introduction, vol. 1, p. 22. Beverley, however, Book 1, p. 47, says expressly that an assembly was allowed. "The country being thus taken into the king's hands, his majesty was pleased to establish the constitution to be a governor, council and assembly, and to confirm the former methods and jurisdictions of the several courts, as they had been appointed in the year 1620 and placed the last resort in the assembly."

Burk, too, vol. 2, p. 15, although be fogged as to the grant of authority to call an assembly, asserts that, "Assemblies convened and deliberated in the usual form, unchecked and uninterrupted by royal interference, from the dissolution of the proprietary government to the period when a regular constitution was sent over with Sir W. Berkeley in 1639." For authority a document in the Appendix is referred to, but it is not to be found there.

The opinions of Chalmers and Hening, confirmed by a corresponding chasm in the records, outweigh the dicta of Beverley and Burk. From 1623 to 1628, there appears no mention on the Statute book, or in the journal of the Virginia Company, of any assembly having been held in the colony and in 1628 appeals were made to the governor and council, whereas they would have been made to the Assembly had it met.

council and thirty-one members of the house of burgesses.

"Captain Francis West continued Governor till the 5th of March, 1628, and then (he being designed to go for England,) John Pott, Esq., was elected Governor by the Council." *

[1627.] The Governor, Sir George Yeardley, with two or three of the Council, resided for the most part at Jamestown. The rest of the council repaired there as occasion required. There was, however, a general meeting of the Governor and Council, every three months. The population of the colony was estimated at between 1500 and 2000. These inhabited seventeen or eighteen plantations. The greater part of these, "towards the falls," were well fortified against the Indians by means of palisades. The planters living above Jamestown now found means to procure an abundant supply of fish. On the banks of the James, the red men were now seldom seen, their fires in the woods frequently. The number of cattle in Virginia was variously reckoned from 2000 to 5000 head. The stock of goats was large and their increase rapid; the woods were stocked with wild hogs, which were killed and "eaten by the Salvages." There was no family in the colony "so poore" as had not "tame Swine sufficient." Poultry was equally abundant. Bread was plenty and good. For drink the colonists used a home-made ale, "but the better sort are well furnished with Sacke, *Aquavita* and good English Beere. The common diet of the servants was "Milke Homini, which is bruized Indian Corne pounded and boiled thicke and milke for the sauce." This dish was in esteem also with the better sort. The planters were generally provided with arms and armour, "and euerie Holy-day everie Plantation doth exercise their men in Armes, by which meanes, hunting and fowling, the most part of them are most excellent markmen." Tobacco was the only crop cultivated for sale. The health of the country was greatly improved by clearing, whereby "the Sunne hath power to exhale up the moist vapours of the earth." [1629.] Most of the land about Jamestown was cleared of wood; little corn planted; but all the ground "converted into pasture and gardens, wherein

doth grow all manner of herbs and roots we have in *England* in abundance, and as good grasse as can be." Here was kept the greater part of the cattle of the colony, the owners being dispersed about on the plantations and returning to Jamestown, as inclination prompted, or at the arrival of shipping come to trade. [1629.] The population of Virginia was supposed to amount to 5000,—the cattle from 2000 to 5000. The colony had a surplus of provisions sufficient to feed 400 more than its own number of inhabitants. Vessels procured supplies there, and the number arrived during this year was 23. Salt fish was procured from New England. Kecoughtan, (Hampton,) supplied peaches. "Mistresse *Pearce*, an honest industrious woman, hath beene there neere twentie yeares and now returned [to England] saith, shee hath a Garden at *James* towne containing three or foure acres, where in one yeaer, she hath gathered neere an hundred bushels of excellent figges, and that of her owne provision she can keepe a better house in *Virginia*, than here in *London* for 3 or 400 pounds a yeaer yet went thither with little or nothiing." The colonists now found the Indian corn so much better for bread than wheat, that they began to quit sowing it.

An assembly met at Jamestown, [October, 16th 1629,] consisting of John Pott, Governor, four councillors and forty-six burgesses returned from twenty-three plantations. Pott was superseded in the same year by Sir John Harvey, * commissioned by the king. Sir John first met the Assembly, March 24th, 1629. The late Governor was, during the following year, Rob-Roy-like convicted of stealing cattle. The ancient records preserve some particulars of the trial:—"July the 9th, 1630.—Dr. John Pott, late Governor, indicted, arraigned and found guilty of stealing cattle; 13 jurors, 3 whereof councillors. This day wholly spent in pleading; next day in unnecessary disputation: Pott endeavoring to prove Mr. Kingswell, (one of the witnesses against him,) an hypocrite, by a story of Gusman of Alfrach the rogue. In re-

* So commonly written according to the vulgar contemporaneous pronunciation, but properly *Hervey*. Pott "continued Governor till some time between October and March, 1629, for on the 4th of March the Quarter court ordered an Assembly to be called to meet Sir John Harvey on the 24th, and nothing was done after 8hr in Pott's name that can be found." 1 Hen. p. 4.

gard of his quality and practice, judgment respite till the king's pleasure known; and all the council became his security." * Sir John Harvey, the new Governor, was one of the Commissioners who had been sent out by the king to Virginia, [1623,] for the purpose of investigating the state of the colony and of procuring evidence, which might serve to justify the dissolution of the Virginia Company. Harvey had also been a member of the provisional Government, [1625.] Returning now to Virginia, no doubt with embittered recollections of the violent collisions with the Assembly, in which as a commissioner he had been formerly involved, he did not fail to imitate the arbitrary rule that prevailed "at home" and to render himself odious to the Virginians.

CHAPTER XVIII.

1630—1636.

George Lord Baltimore visits Virginia; Procures from Charles I. a grant of territory; Acts of Virginia Assembly; Charles I. appoints a Council of Superintendence for Virginia; Acts of Virginia Assembly; George Lord Baltimore dies; The patent of territory devolves upon his son Cecilius Lord Baltimore; He employs his brother Leonard Calvert to found the Colony of Maryland; William Claiborne having settled a trading post on Kent Island, Virginia appeals to the crown against the grant to Baltimore; The decision in favor of Baltimore; Claiborne foments disturbances in Maryland; Convicted of high crimes; Escapes to Virginia; Harvey refuses to surrender him to the proprietary of Maryland; Sends him with witnesses to England for trial; The question again determined in favor of Maryland; Harvey gives away large bodies of Virginia territory; His corrupt and tyrannical administration; Unhappy condition of the Colony; Exasperation of the Virginians; Harvey deposed; Agrees to return to England to answer charges; Charles I. offended re-instates Harvey.

Sir George Calvert, a strenuous defender

* 1 Hening, p. 145-146. In the note to p. 145 is an entry from the journal of the proceedings of a Court held at James City, November 16th, 1627. "At this Court the lady Temperance Yeardley came and did fully and absolutely confirme as much as in her lay, the conveyance made by her late Husband, Sir George Yeardley Knt, late Governor deceased, unto Abraham Persey, Esq., for the lands of Flowerdien Hundred, being one thousand acres and of Weanoake on the opposite side of the water being 2200 acres." The name of the Governor's Lady Temperance is Puritanical. Another such was Obedience Robins, a Burgess of "Accowmacke" in 1630. See 1 Hening, p. 149.

of the royal prerogative, in 1624 became a convert to the Roman Catholic faith. He was nevertheless shortly afterwards created by James I. Baron of Baltimore, in the county of Longford, in Ireland. Finding himself compelled to relinquish a plantation, settled under his auspices in Newfoundland, and being still bent upon seeking a retirement in the new world, for the quiet exercise of his religion, he came over to Virginia early in [1630.] The Assembly was in session at his arrival and proposed to his lordship that he and his followers should take the oaths of supremacy and allegiance. This he declined and the Assembly referred the matter to the king in council. Nor did this wise and estimable nobleman escape personal indignity. In the ancient records is found this singular entry, "March 25th 1630. Tho: Tindall to be pillory'd 2 hours for giving my Ld Baltimore the lye and threatening to knock him down." * His lordship, however, finding the Virginians universally averse to the very name of papist, proceeded to the head of the Chesapeake bay and finding an attractive territory on the North side of the Potomac, unoccupied, returned to England and procured from the king a grant of that part of Virginia, afterwards known as Maryland. †

Ministers were ordered in session of March 1630 to "conforme themselves in all thinges, according to the canons of the church of England." Measures were adopted for the erection of a fort at Point Comfort. Newcomers were made exempt from military service during the first year after their arrival. Provisions were made against engrossing and forestalling. For the furtherance of the production of pot ashes and salt-petre, experiments were ordered to be made. To prevent a scarcity of corn it was ordered, "that two acres of corne or neere thereabouts, bee planted for every head that worketh in the grounde." Regulations were established for the improvement of the staple of tobacco. An act provided, "that the warr begun upon

* 1 Hening, p. 552.

† Belknap, 3, 206, 210. Burk, 2, 25. Hawks, 47. These historians date Lord Baltimore's visit to Virginia in 1628, but without citing authority. I rely mainly upon the date of the sentence of Tindall. The old Lord Baltimore visited Virginia only once and it is altogether probable that Tindall was punished immediately upon his assault. See also Beverley, B 1, 48. Chalmers' Annals, 200-201. Neither of these mention the date in question.

the Indians, bee effectually followed and that noe peace bee concluded with them.” *

The first act of the session of February 1632 provides: “That theire bee a uniformitie throughout this colony both in substance and circumstance to the canons and constitution of the church of England as neere as may bee, and that every person yeald readie obedience unto them upon penaltie of the paynes and forfeitures in that case appoynted.” Another act directs that “Mynisters shall not give themselves to excesse in drinkinge or riott spending theire tyme idellye by day or night playinge at dice cards or any other unlawfull game;” Another order was, “that all the counsell and burgisses of the assembly shall in the morninge be present at devine service in the roome where they sitt at the third beatings of the drum, an hower after sun rise.” No person was suffered to “tend” above fourteen leaves nor gather above nine leaves of a tobacco plant, nor to tend “any slippes of old stalkes of tobacco, or any of the second cropps.” And it was ordained that all tobacco should be “taken down” before the end of November. No person “shall dare to speake or parlie with any Indians either in the woods or in any plantation, yf he can possibly avoyd it by any meanes.” The spirit of constitutional freedom showed itself in an Act declaring “That the Governor and Counsell shall not lay any taxes or impositions upon the colony theire land or commodities otherwise than by the authorities of the Grand Assembly to be levyed and ymployed as by the Assembly shall be appoynted.” Act XL. provides that “the Governor shall not withdrawe the inhabitants from theire private labours to service of his own upon any couller whatsoever.” In case of emergency “the levyinge of men shall be done by the Governor and whole bodie of the Counsell.” “For encouragement of men to plant store of corne the prize shall not be stinted but it shall be free for every man to sell it as deere as he can.” “Noc man shall goe to worke in the grounds without theire arms and a centinell upon them.” There shall be due watch kept by night where neede requires.” “No commander of any plantation shall either himselfe or suffer others to spend powder unnescessarilie that is to say in drinkinge or enterteynments.” “All men that

are fittinge to beare armes shall bringe their peices to the Church.” Noe person within this colony upon the rumour of supposed charge and alteration shall presume to be disobedient the present government nor servants to theire private officers masters and overseers at their uttermost perills.” “That no boats be permitted to goe and trade to Canida or elsewhere that be not of the burthen of ten tunns and have a flush decke or fitted with a gratinge and a tarpaulinge, exceptinge such as be permitted for discovery by a speciall Lycense from the Governor.” *

[1632.] Charles I. issued a commission appointing a council of superintendence over Virginia, empowering them to ascertain the state and condition of the colony. The commissioners were Edward Earl of Dorset, Henry Earl of Derby, Dudley viscount Dorchester, Sir John Coke, Sir John Davers, Sir Robert Killegrew, Sir Thomas Rowe, Sir Robert Heath, Sir Kineage Tench, Sir Dudley Diggs, Sir John Holstenholm, Sir Francis Wyatt, Sir John Brooks, Sir Kenelm Digby, Sir John Tench, John Banks, Esq., Thomas Gibbs, Esq., Samuel Rott, Esq., George Sands, Esq., John Wolstenholm, Esq., Nicholas Ferrar, Esq., Gabriel Barber, and John Ferrar, Esquires.†

The elaborate acts for improving the stapple of tobacco and regulating the trade in it evince the increasing importance of that crop. Tithes were imposed and the “twentieyeth calfe kidd and pigge graunted unto the Mynister.” [1633.] Every 40th man in the neck of land between the James and the York, [then called the Charles,] was directed to repair to the plantation of Dr. John Pott, to be “imployed in buildinge of houses and securing that tract of land lyinge betweenee” “Queen’s creeke in Charles’ river and Archer’s Hope creeke in James river.” This was Middle Plantation now Williamsburg. All new comers were ordered “to pay 64 lb of Tobacco to the mayntenance of the fort at Poynt Comfort.” ‡

* 1 Hening, 155, 158, 162, 164, 165, 167, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175.

† 2 Burk, 35.

‡ 1 Hening, 189, 190, 208, 222. The pay of the officers at Point Comfort was at this time.

	lb. Tobo.	BBls. Corn
To the Captayne of the ffort	2000	10
“ Gunner	1000	6
“ Dummer and Porter	1000	6
For 4 other men each of them		
500 lb. Tobo. 4 BBls Corn.	2000	16
	6000	38

Thus far, under Harvey's administration, the Assembly had met regularly, and several judicious and wholesome acts had been passed.

As early as 1620, John Pory explored the Chesapeake bay and found one hundred English happily settled on its borders, animated with the hope of a very good trade in furs.* "During the years 1627, 28, 29 the Governors of Virginia gave authority to William Clayborne 'Secretary of State of this kingdom,' as that most ancient dominion was then called, to discover the source of the bay of Chesapeake or any part of that government from the 34th to the 41st degree of North latitude." † [May 16th, 1631.] Charles I. granted a license to "our trusty and well-beloved William Clayborne, one of the council and Secretary of State for our colony of Virginia" authorizing him to make discoveries and trade. This license was, by the royal instructions, confirmed by Governor Harvey and Clayborne, shortly afterwards settled a trading post on Kent Island lying in the Chesapeake bay, not far from the present capital Annapolis. A burgess was returned, [1632,] from the Isle of Kent to the Assembly at Jamestown. ‡ [1633.] A warehouse was established "in Southampton river for the inhabitants of Marie's Mount, Elizabeth City, Accawmacke and the Isle of Kent." § In the meantime the old Lord Baltimore dying at London [1632,] before his patent was executed, it was confirmed to his son Cecil, or Cecilius. He engaged the services of his brother Leonard Calvert, who accordingly came over, [1633,] accompanied by two hundred Roman Catholic gentlemen and founded the Colony of Maryland. The name was given in honor of Henrietta Maria, queen consort of Charles I. of England, and daughter of Henry IV. of France.

Leonard Calvert sailed from Cowes in the Isle of Wight Nov. 22, 1633, St. Cecilia's day. [Feb. 27, 1634.] He and his companions reached Point Comfort, filled with apprehensions of the hostility of the Virginians to their colonial enterprise. Letters, however, from Charles I. and the Chancellor of the

Exchequer conciliated Governor Harvey, who hoped by his kindness to the Maryland colonists to ensure the recovery of a large sum of money due him from the royal treasury. Calvert after a hospitable entertainment of eight or nine days, embarked on the 3rd of March for Maryland. Clayborne, who had accompanied Harvey to Point Comfort to see the strangers, did not fail to alarm them by accounts of the hostile spirit that they would find in the Maryland Indians. Calvert on arriving in Maryland was accompanied in his explorations of the country by Capt. Henry Fleet, a Virginian familiar with the settlements and language of the savages. It was under Fleet's direction that Calvert selected the site of St. Mary's, the ancient capital of Maryland,*

The Virginians dissatisfied with the grant to Lord Baltimore remonstrated, [May 1633,] to the king in council against what "will be a general disheartening to them if they shall be divided into several governments." Future events were about to strengthen their sense of the justice of this opposition. [July, 1633.] The case was decided in the Star Chamber, the Privy Council thinking "it fit to leave Lord Baltimore to his patent and the other parties to the course of law according to their desire," recommending at the same time a spirit of amity and "good correspondence" between the planters of the two colonies. So futile a decision could not terminate the contest. Clayborne continued to claim Kent Island and to abnegate the jurisdiction of the infant Maryland. And, [March 14th, 1634,] at a meeting of the Governor and council of Virginia, Clayborne enquired of them how he should demean himself towards Lord Baltimore and his deputies in Maryland who claimed jurisdiction over the Colony at Kent Isle. In answer to this inquiry, the Governor and council declared "that the right of my lord's grant being yet undetermined in England, we are bound in duty and by our oaths to maintain the rights and privileges of this Colony." Nevertheless, "in all humble submission to his majesty's pleasure," they resolved "to keep and observe all good correspondence" with the

* Chalmers' Annals, 206.

† Chalmers' Annals, p. 227.

‡ 1 Hening, 154. Chalmers' Annals, 227-229, where Clayborne's license may be found.

§ Hening, 1, 211.

* White's Relation. 4 Force. White, a Jesuit Missionary, says of Fleet:—"At the first he was very friendly to us; afterwards seduced by the evil counsels of a certain Clayborne, who entertained the most hostile disposition, he stirred up the minds of the Natives against us."

Maryland new-comers.* [September 1634.] Lord Baltimore gave orders to seize Clayborne if he did not submit to the proprietary government of Maryland.† Clayborne excited the jealousy of the Indians, persuading them that the "new-comers" were Spaniards and enemies to the Virginians, and he infused his own spirit of insubordination into the inhabitants of Kent Island. He was at length indicted and found guilty of murder, piracy and sedition—constructive crimes inferred from his insubordination. He escaping, however, took refuge in Virginia. His estate was seized as forfeited.‡

Harvey refused to surrender the fugitive Clayborne to the Maryland commissioners, and sent him, if we are to rely on a doubtful relation, to England, accompanied by the witnesses.§ If such was the case, there is at least no evidence to be found that he was subjected to any trial.

The grant to Baltimore opened the way for similar grants to other court favorites of lands lying to the North and to the South of Virginia. And while Charles I. was lavishing vast tracts of Virginia territory upon his favorites, Sir John Harvey, in collusion with the royal commissioners, imitated the royal munificence, by giving away large bodies not only of the crown-lands but even such as belonged to private planters. In the contests between Clayborne and the proprietary of Maryland, while the people of Virginia warmly espoused Clayborne's cause, Harvey sided with Baltimore. Harvey proved himself altogether a fit instrument of the administration then tyrannizing in England. He was "severe in his extortions and forfeitures, proud in his councils and unjust and arbitrary in every department of his government." He issued numerous proclamations in derogation of the legislative powers of the Assembly; assessed, levied and held the colonial revenue without check or responsibility; transplanted into Virginia English statutes hitherto unknown; multiplied new penalties and exac-

tions, and under pretence of supplying the deficiency of a scanty salary appropriated fines to his own use. However, the Assembly met regularly and the legislation of the Colony expanded itself.

Nevertheless, the condition of the colony was miserable. Charles wasted her territory and by his ordinances established a grinding monopoly of her tobacco. In those days of prerogative an application to the Commons for redress proved fruitless. [July, 1634.] At length the committee of Council for the colonies compassionating Virginia, transmitted instructions to the Governor and council, saying, "that 'tis not intended that interests which men have settled when you were a corporation, should be impeached; that for the present* they may enjoy their estates with the same freedom and privilege as they did before the recalling of their patents," and authorizing the appropriation of lands to the planters as had been the former custom. Whether these concessions were inadequate in themselves, or were not carried into effect by Harvey, upon the petition of many of the inhabitants, an Assembly was called to meet on the 7th of May, 1635, to hear complaints against that obnoxious governor.† However, on the 28th of April, Harvey was by the council "thrust out of government and Captain John West acts as Governor till the King's pleasure known."‡ The charges alleged against Sir John were his haughtiness, rapacity and cruelty; his contempt of the rights of the colonists and his usurpation of the privileges of the council. The deposed Governor agreeing to embark for London to answer the complaints against

* By the words, "for the present," was probably intended "at the present"—"now."

† There being hardly any point in which the people of a State are more sensitive than in regard to territory, it may with good reason be concluded, that one of the chief offences of Harvey was his having sided with Baltimore in his infliction of the Virginia territory. A historian of Virginia has stigmatized Clayborne as an "unprincipled incendiary," and "execrable villain," and after denouncing Sir John Harvey for refusing to surrender the fugitive Clayborne to the demand of the proprietary of Maryland, adds, "But the time was at hand, when this rapacious and tyrannical prefect, [Harvey.] would experience how vain and ineffectual are the projects of tyranny, when opposed to the indignation of freemen." If, however, Clayborne was indeed sent by Harvey to England for trial, nothing could have more inflamed "the indignation of freemen" than such treatment of an intrepid vindicator of their territorial rights. See Burk, vol. 2, pp. 40-41.

‡ Hen. 1, p. 223. Chalmers' Annals, p. 118.

* Chalmers' Annals, 230. Chalmers is more full and satisfactory in his account of Maryland because he had resided there for many years.

† Ibid., 210.

‡ Ibid., 211-232. There was "an examination of the King of Patuxent relative to Clayborne's intrigues."

§ Burk, 41. Who refers as usual to "Ancient Records." There is reason to doubt the statement, because Chalmers, the best authority in this matter, makes no allusion to it.

him, the Assembly afterwards collected the evidence and deputed two councillors to go out with him to prefer the charges. Charles, offended at the presumption of the council and Assembly, re-instated Sir John, and he resumed his place, [January, 1636.] *

CHAPTER XIX.

1636—1649.

Wyatt Governor; Succeeded by Sir William Berkley; The Assembly's Declaration against the restoration of the Virginia Company and Petition to the King; Reply of Charles I. dated at York; Indian Massacre of 1644; Opechancanough made prisoner; His heroism in misfortune; He is murdered by one of his guards; The civil war in England; Loyalty of Virginia; Clayborne drives Lord Baltimore from Maryland and usurps his government; Opechaacanough dies and is succeeded by Necotowance; A treaty effected with him; Its provisions; Divers Acts of Assembly; State of other Colonies on the Atlantic Coast; Charles I. executed; Question relative to the validity of the Colonial Government; Assembly of 1649; Its loyalty.

In 1634 the colony of Virginia had been divided into eight shires, James City, Henrico, Charles City, Elizabeth City, Warwick river, Warrasqueake, Charles River and Accomac. † "During the reign of James I. and a great part of that of his successor, the superintendence of the Colonies was lodged in the privy-council, which will be found to have exercised during those times very extraordinary powers. ‡ "In April, 1630, a commission" for regulating plantations "was granted to the great officers of State, investing them with an authority legislative and executive." §

Harvey after his restoration continued to be Governor for about three years. During this period there appears to have been no meeting of the Assembly and of this part of Harvey's administration no record is left.

[July 14th, 1638.] Charles I. addressed a letter to Lord Baltimore, referring to his for-

mer letters to "our Governor and Council of Virginia and to others our officers and subjects in these parts, we signified our pleasure that William Clayborne, David Morehead and other planters in the island near Virginia, which they have nominated Kentish-island, should in no sort be interrupted by you, or any other in your right, but rather be encouraged to proceed in so good a work." The king goes on to complain to Baltimore, that his agents, in despite of the royal instructions, had "slain three of our subjects there and by force possessed themselves by night of that island and seized and carried away both the persons and estates of the said planters." Charles concludes by enjoining a strict compliance with his former orders. *

At length, [April 4th, 1639,] the Lords Commissioners of plantations, with Laud Archbishop of Canterbury at their head, held a meeting at Whitehall and finally determined the claims of Clayborne to part of Maryland. This decision was in consequence of a petition presented, [1637,] by Clayborne to the king, claiming by virtue of discovery and settlement Kent Island and "another plantation upon the mouth of a river in the bottom of the said bay, in the Susquesahannough's country," and complaining of the attempts of Lord Baltimore's agents there, to dispossess him and his associates and of outrages committed upon them. The decision was now absolutely in favor of Baltimore. Clayborne despairing of any peaceable redress, began to meditate revenge.

Charles I. had now for many years governed England by prerogative without a parliament. At length his necessities constrained him to convene one, and his apprehensions of that body and the revolt of the Scotch, the other alarming ebullitions of the national discontent, admonished him to mitigate the despotism of his colonial rule. Accordingly, [November, 1639,] the unpopular Harvey was displaced by Sir Francis Wyatt. † Harvey, however, still remained in Virginia a member of the council.

Wyatt gave way, [February, 1642,] to Sir

* Keith, p. 142-3. Beverley B. 1, p. 50. Grahame's Hist. U. S., vol. 1, p. 93.

† 1 Hening, p. 144. The original name Pamaunkee had then been superseded by Charles River, which afterwards gave way to York.

‡ Chalmers' Annals, in Preface. This work of which only one volume was ever published, is a quarto of about 700 pages.

§ Ibid.

*Chalmers' Annals, p. 232-3. In 1639 Father John Grauer a Jesuit Missionary resided at Kent Island. White's Relation. Force, vol. 4.

† 1 Hening, p. 4. Burk 2, p. 46 makes Sir William Berkley succeed Harvey.

William Berkley, an accomplished cavalier, destined to occupy the helm of Virginia for a very long period and to undergo several extraordinary vicissitudes of fortune. By some salutary regulations, which he introduced shortly after his arrival, and by his honorable character and winning address, he soon rendered himself very acceptable to the Virginians.

[1st of April, 1642.] The Assembly made a declaration against the restoration of the Virginia Company then proposed, denouncing it as having been the source of intolerable calamities to the colony by its illegal proceeding, barbarous punishments and monopolizing policy. They insisted that its restoration would cause them to degenerate from the condition of their birth-right and convert them from subjects of a monarchy, to the creatures of a popular and tumultuary government, to which they would be obliged to resign their lands held from the crown, which they intimate if necessary would be more fitly resigned to a branch of the royal family than to a corporation. They averred that the revival of the company would prove a death-blow to freedom of trade, the life-blood of a commonwealth. Finally the assembly protested against the restoration of the company, and denounced severe penalties against any who should countenance the scheme. * This remonstrance, together with a petition, being communicated to the King, then at York, he answered it, engaging never to restore the company.

The following is the King's letter:

“ C. R.

Trusty and well-beloved we greet you well. Whereas we have received a petition from you, our Governor, council and burgesses of the grand assembly in Virginia, together with a declaration and protestation of the 1st of April, against a petition presented in your names to our House of Commons in this our kingdom, for restoring of the letters patent for the incorporation of the late treasurer and council, contrary to our intent and meaning and against all such as shall go about to alienate you from our immediate protection. And whereas you desire by your petition that we should confirm this your declaration and protestation under our royal signet and trans-

mit the same to that our colony; these are to signify, that your acknowledgments of our great bounty and favors towards you and your so earnest desire to continue under our immediate protection, are very acceptable to us; and that as we had not before the least intention to consent to the introduction of any company over that our colony, so we are by it much confirmed in our former resolutions, as thinking it unfit to change a form of government wherein, (besides many other reasons given and to be given,) our subjects there, (having had so long experience of it,) receive so much content and satisfaction. And this our approbation of your petition and protestation, we have thought fit to transmit unto you, under our royal signet. Given at our Court, at York, the 5th of July, 1642. To our trusty and well-beloved our Governor, Council and Burgesses of the grand assembly of Virginia.”**

As early as 1619 a small party of English Puritans had come over to Virginia. A larger number would have followed them, but they were prevented by a royal proclamation. † [1642.] A deputation was sent from some Virginia dissenters to Boston soliciting a supply of pastors from the New England churches. Three clergymen were accordingly sent with letters recommending them to the Governor, Sir William Berkeley. On their arrival in Virginia they began to preach in various parts of the country and the people flocked eagerly to hear them. ‡ [March, 1643.] The Assembly of Virginia passed the following act. “ For the preservation of the puritie of doctrine and vnitie of the church, It is enacted that all ministers whatsoever which shall reside in the colony are to be conformable to the orders and constitutions of the Church of England and the laws therein established and not otherwise to be admitted to teach or preach publickly or privatly, And that the Gov. and Counsel do take care that all noncomformists vpon notice of them shall be compelled to depart the collony with all convenience.” § Sir William Berkley equally averse to the religious tenets and political principles of the

* Chalmers' Annals, p. 133-4.

† Grahame, Amer. Ed. 1, p. 140.

‡ Grahame, Amer. Ed. 1, p. 192.

§ Hening 1, p. 277.

Puritan preachers, issued a proclamation in consonance with this act. "They had little encouragement from the rulers of the place, but they had a kind entertainment with the people." * And "though the State did silence the ministers because they would not conform to the order of England, yet the people resorted to them in private houses to hear them." † In a short time, however, the New England preachers returned to their own country. ‡

The Indians, whose hatred to the whites had long slumbered, but had never been diminished, being offended by the encroachments made upon them by some of Sir John Harvey's grants, Opechancanough, headed them in a second massacre. It took place on the 18th of April, 1644. The destruction fell chiefly upon the settlements near the heads of the rivers, especially the York and on the south side of the James. The carnage continued for two days and the number of the slain was estimated at five hundred §

There were not wanting those who suspected that Opechancanough was instigated by some of the English themselves, who informed him of the civil war then raging in England, and of the dissensions that disturbed the colony, and told him "that now was his time or never, to roote out all of the English." Had the Indians followed up their first blow, the Colonists must have been all cut off. But after their first treacherous onslaught, their hearts failed them and they fled affrighted, "many miles distant off the colony: which little space of time gave the *English*, opportunity to gather themselves together, call an Assembly, secure their cattell and to thinke upon some way to defend themselves, if need were and then to offend their enemies, which by the great mercy of God was

done." * Opechancanough, the fierce and implacable enemy of the whites, was now nearly a hundred years of age, † and the commanding form which had so often shone in scenes of blood was now worn down with the fatigues of war and bent with the weight of years. Unable to walk, he was carried from place to place by his followers. His flesh was macerated, and his eye-lids so powerless, that he could only see, when they were lifted up by his attendants. Sir William at length with a party of horse, by a rapid march, surprised the superannuated warrior at some distance from his residence. He was carried a prisoner to Jamestown and kindly treated by the Governor. This monarch of the woods retained a spirit unbroken by decrepitude of body or calamities of fortune. Hearing footsteps in the room where he lay, he requested his eye-lids to be raised, when perceiving a crowd of spectators, he called for the governor, and upon his appearance, said to him, "had it been my fortune to take Sir William Berkley prisoner, I would have disdained to make a show of him." He had, however, "made a show" of Captain Smith. About a fortnight after Opechancanough's capture, one of his guards for some private revenge shot him in the back. Languishing awhile of the wound he died. ‡ His death brought about a peace with the Indians, which endured many years without interruption.

Sir William Berkley left Virginia June, 1644, and returned June, 1645. His place was filled during his absence by Richard Kemp. The spirit of freedom awakened by the voice of the reformation began now to develop itself in England. The arbitrary temper of Charles I. excited the dissatisfaction of the nation and a violent opposition of parliament which exacted his assent to the "petition of right." The popular indignation was carried to the highest pitch by the raising of ship-money. Hampden gloried in a personal resistance of this odious tax. The Puritans were arrayed against

* Mather, cited by Hawks, p. 53-54.

† Winthrop, cited by Hawks, p. 54.

‡ Chalmers' Annals, p. 121.

§ Beverley, B. 1, p. 51. Burk, v. 2, p. 53 et seq. The circumstances of this massacre are involved in doubt. Beverley fixes the time of its occurrence in 1639, an evident mistake as appears from Burk cited above, and Hening, vol. 1, p. 450:—"That the two-and-twentieth day of March and the eighteenth day of Aprill be yearly kept holie, in commemoration of our deliverance from the Indians, at the bloody massacres the 22nd day of March, 1621, and the eighteenth of Aprill, 1644." See also Hening, v. 1, pp. 289-90-91, and Drake's Book of the Indians, B. 4, pp. 21-22. Mr. Banerfoot supposes the number of the slain not to have exceeded 300.

* "New Description of Virginia." Force, vol. 2.

† So say the chroniclers of that day, but as he was younger than Powhatan, Opechancanough was probably not ninety at the time of this massacre. Thatcher's Indian Biog., vol. 1, p. 92.

‡ Beverley, B. 1, p. 53. Keith, p. 145-46. Opechancanough was probably buried at Jamestown.

the hierarchy, and Scotland was not less embittered against the king by his effort to force the liturgy upon her. [1640.] The necessities of Charles prompted him to call together the Long Parliament. [1641.] Strafford was executed and Laud sent to the tower. [19th of March, 1642.] Charles reached York, and on the 25th of August raised his standard at Nottingham. After a contest of three years Charles was overthrown at Naseby [June 4th, 1645.]

While the civil war was raging in England, Virginia remained loyal. The decrees of the Courts of high commission were the rule of conduct in Virginia, and the authority of Archbishop Laud was as absolute in the Colony as in the Mother County.* Penal acts were passed against the Puritans, although there were none in the colony. [1642.] Stephen Reekes was pilloried for two hours with a label on his back, expressing his offence, fined £50 and imprisoned during pleasure, for saying "that his majesty was at confession with the Lord of Canterbury."† During the troubles in England, the correspondence of the colony was interrupted, the supplies reduced and trade obstructed. The planters looked forward with solicitude to the uncertain issue of such alarming events.‡

In the mean time Lord Baltimore taking advantage of the weakness of the crown, had shown some contempt for its authority and had drawn upon himself the threat of a quo warranto. [1642.] Maryland had been torn by faction and ravaged by Indian incursions. Early in 1645, Clayborne taking advantage of the distractions of the mother country, and animated by a turbulent spirit and by a sense of wrongs long unavenged, at the head of a band of insurgents, expelled Lord Baltimore from Maryland, and seized the reins of government. [August 1646.] Baltimore, who had fled to Virginia, regained command of the province. § Nevertheless Clayborne and his confederates (with but few exceptions) emerged from this singular contest in impunity.

Opechancanough was succeeded by Necotowance, styled "king of the Indians." In

October, 1646, a treaty was effected, by which he agreed to hold his authority from the king of England (who however was now bereft of his own) while the assembly engaged to protect him from his enemies, in acknowledgment whereof, Necotowance was to deliver to the governor a yearly tribute of twenty beaver skins at the departure of the wild geese; *—the Indians to occupy the country on the north side of York river, and to cede to the English all the country between the York and the James from the falls to Kiquotan;—death for an Indian to be found in this territory unless sent in as a messenger; messengers to be admitted into the colony by means of badges of striped cloth, and in general, felony for a white man to be found on the Indian hunting-ground, which was to extend from the head of Yaphin, the Black-water, to the old Mannakin town on the James river; badges to be received at Fort Royal and Fort Henry, alias Appomattox, &c. † Fort Henry had been established not long before this, at the falls of the Appomattox; Fort Charles at the falls of the James; Fort James on the Chickahominy ‡ and Fort Royal, § on the Pamunkey.

[1647.] Certain ministers refusing to read the common prayer upon the Sabbath, were declared not entitled to tythes. || [1645.] An act had been passed to exclude mercenary attorneys and [1647] they were expressly prohibited from taking any recompense and the courts were ordered not to allow any professional attorneys to appear "in private causes between man and man in the country."¶ [1648.] A guard of ten men was allowed to the governor, to protect him against treachery from the Indians, who visited him under pretence of negotiation, and from the disaffected of "a schismatichall party" in the Colony.**

[1648.] "One Captain Brocas, a gentleman of the Counsel, a great Traveller, caused a vineyard to be planted and hath most excellent Wine made."

* Cohonk, "the cry of wild geese," was one of the Indian terms for winter.

† Hening, vol. 1, p. 323.

‡ Under command of Lieutenant Thomas Rolfe, son of Pocahontas. Towards the end of 1641, he had petitioned the governor for permission to visit his *kinsman*, Opechancanough and Cleopatre, sister of his mother. Burk, vol. 2, p. 54.

§ Hen., vol. 1, p. 527. || Ib. 341. ¶ Ib. 349. ** Ib. 354.

* See Hawks, p. 51.

† Hening, vol. 1, p. 552. Burk, vol. 2, p. 67, mistakes the date and the culprit's name.

‡ Beverley, B. 1, p. 53.

§ Chalmers's Annals, p. 217.

At Christmas, 1647, there were in the James river ten vessels from London, two from Bristol, twelve from Holland, and seven from New England. [1648.] "Mr. Richard Bennet had this yeer out of his Orchard, as many Apples, as he made 20 Butts of excellent Cider." Sir William Berkley, "in his New Orchard, hath 15 hundred fruit-trees, besides his Apricocks, Peaches, Mellicotons, Quinces, Wardens and such like fruit." "Worthy Captaine Matthews, an old Planter of above thirty years standing, one of the Counsell and a most deserving Commonwealths-man," "hath a fine house and all things answerable to it; he sowes yearly store of Hempe and Flax, and causes it to be spun; he keeps Weavers and hath a Tan-house, causes Leather to be dressed; hath eight Shoemakers employed in their trade; hath forty Negroe servants, brings them up to Trades in his house. He yearly sowes abundance of Wheat, Barley, &c. The Wheat he selleth at four Shillings the bushell; kills store of Beeves and sells them to victuall the ships, when they come thither; hath abundance of Kine, a brave Dairy, Swine, great store and Poltery. He married the Daughter of Sir Tho. Hinton, and in a word, keeps a good house, lives bravely and a true lover of *Virginia*; he is worthy of much honour."*

There was, in 1648, a Free-school in *Virginia*, with 200 acres of land appurtenant, a good house upon it, forty milch cows, &c.

* "A New Description of *Virginia*," Force's Hist. Tracts, vol. 2. There was published in 1648, "A Description of the Province of New Albion," the writer styling himself "Beauchamp Plantagenet of Belvil, in New Albion, Esquire." A royalist, flying from the fury of intestine war, he visited America, on behalf of a company of Adventurers, in quest of a place of settlement. In the course of his wanderings, he visited *Virginia*. At "Newport's News" he received "kind entertainment at Captain Matthews, at Master Fantleroys and free quarter in all places, finding the *Indian* war ended, first by the valour, courage and hot charge of Captain Marshall and valiant Stilwel, and finished by the personal and resolute March and Victory of Sir William Berkley Governor, there taking the old King Ope Chankino prisoner." "I went to Chicaoen the North part of *Virginia*, on Pawtomeck river, avoiding it and *Maryland*, which I found healthier and better then *Virginia*, for then it was in war both with the Sasquehanocks and all the Eastern Bay Indians and a civil war between some revolters, protestants, assisted by 50 plundered *Virginians*, by whom M. Leonard Calvert, Governor under his brother the Lord Baltimore, was taken prisoner and expelled: and the Isle of Kent taken from him also by Captain Clayborn of *Virginia*; yet I viewed Kent Isle, too wet and plashy having bad water."—See Description of New Albion, in 2 Force's Hist. Tracts.

It was founded by Mr. Benjamin Symes. It is a pleasure to record the names of such public benefactors. "Other petty schools also we have"—probably such as now are known in *Virginia* as "old field schools."*

"March 1648, *Nickotowance* came to *James* town, to our noble Governour, Sir William Bearkley, with five more petty kings attending him and brought twenty Beaver-skinnes, to be sent to king *Charles*, as he said, for Tribute." About this time the Indians reported to Sir William Berkley, "that within five days journey to the Westward and by South, there is a high mountaine and at foot thereof great Rivers, that run into a great sea; and that there are men that come hither in ships (but not the same as ours be) they weare apparrell and have red caps on their heads and ride on Beasts like our Horses, but have much longer ears." These were probably the Spaniards. Sir William Berkley now prepared to make an exploration with fifty horse and as many foot, † but he was disappointed in this enterprise.

At this period the settlement of all the New England States had been commenced. The Dutch possessed the present States of New York, New Jersey and part of Connecticut and they had already pushed their settlements above Albany. The Swedes occupied the shores of Pennsylvania and Delaware. Maryland was still in her infancy. *Virginia* was prosperous. The country now known as the Carolinas, belonged to the assignees of Sir Robert Heath, but as yet no advances had been made towards the occupation of it. ‡

[1648.] Upon complaint of the necessities of the people, occasioned by barren and over-wrought land and want of range for cattle and hogs, permission was granted to remove during the following year to the north side of Charles (York) and Rappahannock rivers. §

[30th of January, 1649,] King Charles I. was beheaded. The commonwealth of England now continued till the restoration of Charles II., [1660.] Upon the dissolution of the monarchy there were not wanting those in *Virginia*, who held that the colonial

* Hening, vol. 1, p. 353.

† Hening, vol. 1, p. 353.

‡ Martin's Hist. N. C., vol. 1, p. 105-6.

§ "A New Description of *Virginia*," Force, vol. 2.

government being derived from the crown, was now extinct. But the assembly, by an act of October 1649, made it penal to maintain that opinion. The principle, however, was afterwards expressly recognized at the surrender of the colony to Cromwell's fleet [1651.]

An assembly met at Jamestown [October, 1649,] about eight months after the execution of Charles I. The first act amply attests its loyalty; it expresses the profoundest veneration for the deceased king; denounces all aspersions upon his memory as treasonable; declares it treason to doubt the right of prince Charles to succeed to the crown, or to propose a change of government in the colony, or to doubt the authority of the governor or government. *

[1649.] There were in Virginia, at this period, 15,000 English, and "of Negroes, brought thither, three hundred good servants." The number of cattle was estimated at 20,000, of horses 200, asses 50, sheep 3,000, goats 5,000. Swine, tame and wild, were innumerable. There were "six publick Brewhouses and most brew their own beer strong and good." Fish, fowl, venison, and vegetables were abundant. Indian corn yielded five hundred fold. Bees, wild and domestic, produced plenty of honey and wax. The culture of Indigo and hemp and flax, &c., was commenced. So much tobacco was raised, that the price was only 3 pence per pound. There were 4 wind-mills, 5 water-mills, besides horse-mills and hand-mills. No saw-mill had yet been erected. There came yearly to trade, 30 vessels, navigated with 800 seamen. They brought cargoes of cotton and woollen goods, shoes, stockings, &c. Many of the masters of these vessels and chief mariners, had plantations in the colony. The vessels cleared in March, carrying out tobacco, staves and lumber. Pinnaes, barges and boats were numerous. A thousand colonists were seated "upon the Acamake† shore, by Cape Charles, (where Captaine Yeardly is chief commander,) now called the county of Northampton." Bricks were now made in Virginia. "Since the massacre the Savages have been driven far

away, many destroyed of them, their towns and houses ruined, their clear grounds possessed by the English to sow wheat in; and their great king *Opechankewow* (that bloody monster upon 100 years old,) was taken by Sir William Berkely the Governour." "They have 20 Churches in *Virginia* and Ministers to each and the Doctrine and Orders after the Church of *England*: the Ministers' Livings are esteemed worth at least 100*l. per annum.*" *

CHAPTER XX.

1650—1659.

Puritans in Virginia; Col. Norwood's Voyage to Virginia; Despatched to Holland by Sir William Berkley; The Long Parliament prohibits trade and correspondence with Virginia; Capt. Dennis with a small fleet demands the surrender of the Colony; Sir William Berkley prepares for resistance, is constrained to yield; Articles of Capitulation; Berkley goes into retirement, Provisional Government established; Richard Bennet appointed Governor; Miscellaneous Affairs.

The assembly of dissenters collected by the three missionaries from Massachusetts amounted in 1648 to one hundred and eighteen members. They met with the continual opposition of the government. Mr. Durand, their elder, had already been banished by the Governor, and in this year their pastor, named Harrison, being ordered to depart from the colony, retired to New England. On his arrival there he represented that many of the council were favorably disposed towards the introduction of Puritanism and "one thousand of the people by conjecture" were of a similar mind. †

"It is to be understood that in the time of the late king, *Virginia* being whol for monarchy and the last country belonging to *England*, that submitted to obedience of the

* "A New Description of Virginia," pp. 1-8. Force's Hist. Tracts, vol. 2.

† Hawks, 57, citing 2 Savages. Winthrop 334. Dr. Hawks by italicising the words "by conjecture," signifies a doubt of the estimate. But when the prevalence of Puritanism in the mother country is recollected and the numerous ties which connected it with the colony and the influential correspondence between them, the wonder is rather that there should have been so few as a thousand "favorably disposed" towards Puritanism and not that there were so many as that number.

* Hening, vol. 1, 358 in note and 359.

† The name of Accomac was changed [1643] to Northampton, but the original name was afterwards restored. 1. Hening, 249-221.

Common-wealth of England. And there was in *Virginia* a certaine people congregated into a Church calling themselves Independents, which daily increasing, several consultations were held by the state of that Coloney how to suppresse and extinguish them, which was daily put in execution; as first, their pastor was banished, next their other teachers, then many by informations clapt up in prison, then generally disarmed, (which was very harsh in such a country, where the heathen live round about them,) by one Colonel *Samuel Matthews*, then a Counsellor in *Virginia*. and since Agent for Virginia to the then parliament—and lastly in a condition of banishment, so that they knew not in those streights how to dispose of themselves.* A number of these dissenters having gained the consent of Lord Baltimore and his governor of Maryland, retired to Maryland and settled there. Among these one of the principal was Richard Benet, a merchant and Roundhead. For a time these refugees prospered in their affairs and remained apparently content with their new place of abode, and others induced by their example likewise removed there.

[1648.] Colonel Norwood, a loyal refugee in Holland, formed a scheme with two comrades, Morrison and Fox, cavalier majors, to seek their fortunes in *Virginia*. [August, 1649.] They accordingly met in London for the purpose of embarking. When they had first agreed upon their plan, Charles I. was a prisoner at Carisbrook Castle, in the Isle of Wight. He had since been executed; the royalists saw their last embers of hope extinguished, and Norwood and his friends were eager to escape from the scene of their disasters. At the Royal Exchange, these three forlorn cavaliers engaged a passage to *Virginia*, in "The *Virginia Merchant*, burthen three hundred tons, of force thirty guns or more." The charge for the passage was "six pounds a head" for themselves and servants. They brought out some goods for the purpose of mercantile adventure. [September 23, 1649.] They embarked in "The *Virginia Merchant*," having on board "three hundred and thirty souls." Touching at Fyal, Col. Norwood and his

companions met with a Portuguese Lady "of great note" with her family, returning in an English ship, "The John," from the Brazils to her own country. With her they drank the healths of their kings amidst "thundering peals of cannon." The English gentlemen discovered a striking resemblance between the lady's son and their own prince Charles, which filled them with fond admiration and flattered the vanity of the beautiful Portuguese. Passing within view of the charming *Bermuda*, "The *Virginia Merchant*" sailing for *Virginia* struck upon a breaker, [November 8,] near Cape Hatteras. Narrowly escaping from that peril, she was overtaken by a storm and tossed by "mountainous towring north-west seas." Amid the horrors of the evening scene, Norwood observed innumerable ill-omened porpoises, that "seemed to cover the surface of the sea, as far as our eyes could discern." The vessel at length losing fore-castle and main-mast became a hulk, drifting at the mercy of the elements. Some were swept overboard by the billows that broke over her; the rest suffered the tortures of terror and famine. At last the storm subsiding, the vessel drifted near the coast of the Eastern shore. Here Norwood and a party landing on an island were abandoned by the ship. After enduring the extremities of cold and hunger, of which some died, Norwood and the survivors in the midst of the snow, were rescued by a party of friendly Indians. In the meantime "The *Virginia Merchant*" having arrived in the James river, a messenger was despatched by Governor Berkley in quest of Norwood and his party. Conducted to the nearest plantations of the Virginians, they were every where entertained with the utmost kindness. Stephen Charlton, * a planter, "would also oblige" Colonel Norwood to put on "a good farmer-like suit of his own wearing cloaths." After visiting Captain Yeardley, (son of Sir George, the former Governor,) the principal person in that quarter of the colony, Norwood crossed the bay in a sloop and landed at "esquire Ludlow's plantation" on York river and next repaired to the neighboring plantation of Captain Wormley, † "of his majesty's council," where he found some of

* Leah and Rachel, by John Hammond, in Forces' Hist. Tracts, vol. 3. This John Hammond will appear again on a subsequent page.

* Burgess from Northampton in 1652. Hening 1, p. 275.

† Ralph Wormley, Burgess for York at that time. Hening 1, 359.

his friends, recently arrived from England, "feasting and carousing." The guests were "Sir Thomas Lundsford, Sir Henry Chickly, [Chicheley,] Sir Philip Honywood and Colonel Hammond." At Jamestown Norwood was cordially welcomed by his relative the Governor, Sir William Berkley, who took him to his house at Greenspring, where he remained for some months. Sir William Berkley "on many occasions shew'd great respect to all the royal party, who made that colony their refuge. His house and purse were open to all that were so qualify'd. To one of my comrades, (major Fox,) who had no friend at all to subsist on, he shewed a generosity that was like himself; and to my other, (major Morrison,) he was more kind, for he did not only place him in the command of the fort,* which was profitable to him while it held under the king, but did advance him after to the government of the country wherein he got a competent estate." †

[May, 1650.] "The governor," (says Norwood,) "sent me for *Holland*, to find out the king and to sollicite his majesty for the Treasurer's place of *Virginia*, which the Governor took to be void by the delinquency of Claybourne, who had long enjoyed it. He furnished me with a sum of money, to bear the charge of this sollicitation; which took effect, tho' the king was then in *Scotland*." †

Bennet and the other dissenting Virginians, who had settled in Maryland were not long there before they became dissatisfied with the Proprietary government. The authority of Papists was irksome to Puritans and they began to avow their aversion to the oath of fidelity, which the Proprietary government imposed upon them, for by the terms of it, Lord Baltimore affected to usurp almost royal authority, claiming the obsolete privileges of the ancient County-Palatines of Durham, concluding his commissions and writs with "We, us, and Given under our hand and greater seal of Arms in such a yeer of our Dominion." The protestants of Maryland, especially the Puritans, saw in the political complexion of the Common-

wealth of England a fair prospect of the speedy subversion of Baltimore's power. Nor were they disappointed in this hope.

[October, 1650.] The Long Parliament passed an ordinance "for prohibiting trade with Barbadoes, Virginia, Bermuda and Antego." This act recited that these colonies were and of right ought to be subject to the authority of parliament, that "divers acts of rebellion" had "been committed by many persons inhabiting Virginia, whereby they have most traitorously usurped a power of government and set up themselves in opposition to this commonwealth." It therefore declared such persons "notorious robbers and traitors," forbade all correspondence or commerce with them and appointed commissioners and despatched Sir George Ayscue with a powerful fleet and army to reduce Barbadoes, Bermuda and Antigua to submission.

[September 26, 1651.] The council of State of whom Bradshaw was President, issued instructions for "Captain Robert Dennis, Mr. Richard Bennet, Mr. Tho Steg * and Capt. William Clæiborn, appointed Commissioners for the reducement of Virginia and the inhabitants thereof to their due obedience to the Commonwealth of England." A fleet was put under command of Captain Dennis. The commissioners embarked in the Guinea Frigate. They were empowered "to assure pardon and indemnity to all the Inhabitants of the said Plantations, that shall submit unto the present Government and Authority as it is established in this Commonwealth." "And in case they shall not submit by fair wayes and means, you are to use all acts of hostility that lies in your power, to enforce them and if you shall find the people so to stand out as that you can by no other wayes or meanes reduce them to their due obedience, you or any two or more of you, whereof capt. Rob. Dennis to be one, have power to appoint captains and other officers and to raise forces within every of the plantations aforesaid for the furtherance and good of the service and such persons as shall come in unto you and serve as soldiers, if their masters shall stand in opposition to the present Government of this Commonwealth, you or any two or more of you, capt. Rob. Dennis to be one,

* Point Comfort.

† Col. Francis Morrison became Governor in 1661, and held the office about 18 months.

‡ Force's Hist. Tracts, vol. 3. Churchill's Voyages.

* A "Mr. Thomas Stagg" was a resident planter of Virginia in 1652. See 1. Hening, p. 375.

have hereby power to discharge and set free from their masters* all such persons so serving as sooldiers. In case of the death or absence of Capt. Dennis, Capt. Edmund Curtis, "commander of the *Guinny Frigot*" was to take his place. †

[March, 1652,] Captain Dennis arrived at Jamestown and demanded a surrender of the colony. Sir William Berkley, with the hope of repelling them or of commanding better terms, prepared for a gallant resistance and undertook to strengthen himself, by making use of several Dutch ships, ‡ which happened to be there engaged in a contraband trade, and which he hired for the occasion. There chanced however to be on board of the Parliament's fleet some goods belonging to two members of the Virginia Council. Dennis sent them word that their goods should be forfeited if the colony was not immediately surrendered. The threat kindled dissensions in the council, and the governor found himself constrained to yield on condition of a general amnesty. § The capitulation was ratified [12th of March, 1652.]|| It was agreed that the colony should be subject to the Commonwealth of England; that the submission should be considered voluntary, "not forced nor constrained by a conquest vpon the countrey, and that they shall have and enjoy such freedomes and priviledges as belong to the free borne people of England;" the assembly to meet as formerly and transact the affairs of the colony, nothing however to be "done contrarie to the government of the Commonwealth of England;" full indemnity granted for all offences against the parliament of England; Virginia to "have and enjoy the antient bounds and lymits granted by the charters of the former kings and that we shall seek a new charter from the parliament to that purpose, against any that have intrechent vpon the rights there-

of;"* "that the priviledge of haveing fiftie acres of land for every person transported in the collony, shall continue as formerly granted;" "that the people of Virginia shall have free trade as the people of England do enjoy to all places and with all nations, according to the lawes of that Commonwealth and that Virginia shall enjoy all priviledges equall with any English plantations in America;" Virginia to "be free from all taxes, customes and impositions whatsoeuer and none to be imposed on them without consent of the Grand Assembly, and soe that neither ffortes nor castles bee erected, or garrisons maintained without their consent;" no charge to be made upon Virginia on account of "this present fleet;" the engagement or oath of allegiance to the government of the Commonwealth, to be tendered to all the inhabitants of Virginia; recusants to have "a yea'res time to remove themselves and their estates out of Virginia and in the mean time during the said yea're to have equall justice as formerly;" the use of the book of common prayer to be permitted for one year, with the consent of a majority of the parish, "Provided that those things which relate to kingshipp or that government, be not vsed publickly, and ministers to be continued in their places," "they not misdeameing themselves;" public ammunition, powder and arms to be given up, security being given to make satisfaction for them; goods already "brought hither by the Dutch, to remain unmolested; the quit-rents "granted vnto vs by the late kinge for seaven yea'res," to "bee confirmed;" the parliamentary commissioners "engage themselves and the honour of the parliament for the full performance" of the articles; the Governor and Council and Burgesses making the same pledge for the colony. †

On the same day, [March 12th,] some other articles were ratified by the Commissioners and the Governor and Council of State. These articles exempted the Governor and Council from taking the oath of allegiance, for a year and provided that they should not "be censured for praying for or speaking well of the king, for one whole yea're, in their private houses or neighbouring conference;" Sir

* The population of the colony in 1649 was estimated at "about fiftene thousand English and of Negroes brought three hundred good servants." "A Perfect Description of Virginia." 2 Force.

† "Virginia and Maryland," p. 18-20, Force's Hist. Tracts, vol. 2.

‡ Martin's History of N. C., vol. 1, p. 110. Martin makes the number of ships seven; upon what authority, I know not. One ship only was confiscated.—See 1 Hening, 382-385.

§ Beverley, B. I, p. 54. Keith, p. 147. Chalmers' Annals, p. 123.

|| (1651,) Old style but properly 1652.

* This alludes to Lord Baltimore's intrusion into Maryland.

† 1 Hening, p. 363-365.

William Berkley was permitted to send an agent "to give an accompt to his Ma'tie of the surrender of the countrey;" Sir William and the council were allowed to dispose of their estates and transport themselves "whether they please." Protection of his estates and liberty were guaranteed to Sir William Berkley. The Captain of the "fforte" was allowed satisfaction for the building of his house "in fforte Island."*

A general amnesty was granted to all the inhabitants. In case Sir William or his Councillors should "goe for London, or other place in England, that they or anie of them shall bee free from any trouble or hindrance of arrests, or such like in England, and that they may follow their occasions, for the space of six monthes, after their arrivall."†

It would seem that some important articles of surrender were not ratified by the Long Parliament. The 4th was "that Virginia shall have and enjoy the antient bounds and lymitts granted by the charters of the former kings, and that we shall seek a new charter from the Parliament to that purpose against any that intrencht against the rights thereof." This article was referred [August 1652,] to the committee of the Navy to consider what patent was fit to be granted to the inhabitants of Virginia. The 7th article was "That the people of Virginia have free trade as the people of England do enjoy to all places and with all nations according to the lawes of that commonwealth, and that Virginia shall enjoy all priviledges equall with any English plantations in America. The latter clause was referred to the same committee. The 8th article was, "That Virginia shall be free from all taxes, customes and impositions whatsoever and none to be imposed on them without consent of the Grand Assembly, and soe that neither ffortes nor castles bee erected or garrisons maintained, without their consent." This was also referred to the Navy committee, together with several papers relative to the disputes between Virginia and Maryland, &c. The committee made a report, [December 31st, 1652.] which however seems wholly confined to the question of boundary and the contest with

Lord Baltimore. In the ensuing July the Long Parliament was dissolved. *

The articles of capitulation were subscribed by Richard Bennet, William Clayborne and Edmund Curtis, commissioners in behalf of the parliament. Bennet, a merchant, and Roundhead, driven from Virginia by the intolerance of Sir William Berkley's administration, had taken refuge in Maryland. Having gone out thence to England, his puritanical principles and knowledge of the colonies of Virginia and Maryland had recommended him for the place of commissioner. Clayborne, too, who had formerly been obliged to fly to England, and whose office of treasurer of Virginia, Sir William Berkley had held to be forfeited by delinquency and which the fugitive Charles had bestowed on Colonel Norwood—this impetuous and indomitable Clayborne was another of the commissioners, sent to reduce the colonies within the Chesapeake bay. A new era was now opened in these two colonies and the prominent parts which Bennet and Clayborne were destined to perform in this novel scene, exhibit a signal example of the vicissitudes of human fortune.

CHAPTER XXI.

1652—1660.

Bennet and Clayborne reduce Maryland under Cromwell's authority; Cromwell's Letter; Digges elected Governor; Bennet returns to England, the Colony's Agent; Col. Edward Hill defeated by the Ricaherians; Totopottomi with greater part of his warriors slain; All Freemen allowed to vote; Samuel Matthews chosen Gov-

* "Virginia and Maryland," note to p. 20, in Force's Hist. Tracts, vol. 2. Mr. Force whose laborious researches have brought to light such a magazine of curious and instructive historical materials, appears to have been the first to draw attention to the "non-ratification" of these articles. He is however not quite accurate in saying, that "the fourth, seventh and eighth were not confirmed," for the 4th granting free trade, *was* in the main substance confirmed, only the latter clause which was pleonastick and of minor consequence was not ratified. The omission of all notice of the latter clause of the 7th and of the 8th article, in the committee's report, is unaccountable.

Mr. Force says "Three of the articles," "were not confirmed" and therefore did not receive "the last formal and final and definitive ratification," which Burk (2.92) supposes they did." Burk however here referred only to the ratification by the parties at Jamestown and had no reference to the ulterior confirmation by the Commonwealth of England.

* The Captain of the fort was Major Fox, the comrade of Norwood; the fort was at Point Comfort.

† Hening, vol. 1, p. 365-367.

ernor; Digges sent out as colleague of Bennet; Matthews orders a dissolution of the Assembly. The Assembly resists; Former elections of Governor and appointments of Councillors annulled; Matthews re-elected; Appointed agent conjointly with Bennet and Digges; Death of Oliver Cromwell; Succeeded by his son Richard; The government of Virginia under the Commonwealth of England.

Shortly after the surrender of "the Ancient Dominion of Virginia," Bennet and Clayborne, Commissioners, embarking in the Guinea frigate, proceeded with that ship alone, to reduce Maryland. After effecting a reduction of the province, the Commissioners, with singular moderation, agreed to a compromise with those who held the proprietary government under Lord Baltimore. Stone the Governor and the Council, (part papists, none well affected to the Commonwealth of England,) were allowed, (until further instructions should be received,) to hold their places on condition of issuing writs "in the Name of the Keepers of the Liberty of England." *

Sir William Berkley, upon the surrender of the colony, betook himself into retirement, in Virginia, where he remained free from every molestation and his house continued to be a hospitable place of resort for refugee cavaliers.

[April 30th, 1652.] Bennet and Clayborne, Commissioners, together with the Burgesses of Virginia, organized a Provisional Government, subject to the control of the Commonwealth of England. Richard Bennet, a Roundhead, was made Governor, and William Clayborne Secretary of State for the colony. † The council appointed, consisted of "Capt. John West, Coll. Sam. Matthews, Coll. Nathaniel Littleton, Coll. Argall Yeardley, Coll. Tho. Pettus, Coll. Hump. Higginson, Coll. George Ludlow, Col. Wm. Barnett, Capt. Bridges Freeman, Capt. Tho. Harwood, Major Wm. Taylor, Capt. Francis Eppes and Liev'tt Coll. John Cheesman." The Governor, Secretary and Council "are to have such power and authorities and to act from time to time, as by the Grand Assembly shall be appointed and granted." ‡

The governor and councillors were allow-

* Virginia and Maryland," p. 11-34. Force's Hist. Tracts, vol. 2. Chalmers' Annals, 221-222.

† 1 Hening, p. 371.

‡ Idem, p. 372.

ed to be ex-officio members of the assembly. [May 5th, 1652.] The assembly claiming the right to appoint all officers for the colony, yet for the present in token of their confidence in the commissioners, referred all the appointments not already made to the governor and them.* And this act was renewed in the next year. The oath administered to the burgesses was;—"you shall swear to act as a burgess for the place you serve for in this assembly, with the best of your judgment and advice for the general good, not mingling with it any particular or private interest." At the commencement of the session of November, 1652, Mr. John Hammond returned a Burgess from the Isle of Wight, was expelled from the assembly, as being "notoriously knowne a scandalous person and a frequent disturber of the peace of the country, by libell and other illegall practices." Hammond, who had passed nineteen years in Virginia, now retired to Maryland. † He was the author of the pamphlet "Leah and Rachel." At the same time with Hammond, the Assembly expelled James Pyland, another Burgess of the Isle of Wight, and it was ordered "that he stand committed to answer such things as shall be objected against him, as an abettor of Mr. Thomas Woodward, in his mutinous and rebellious declaration. And concerning his the said Mr. Pyland blasphemous catechisme."‡

[1653.] There were now fourteen counties in Virginia, viz:—Henrico, Charles City, James City, Surry, Isle of Wight, Nansemond, Lower Norfolk, Elizabeth City, Warwick, York, Northampton, Northumberland, Gloucester and Lancaster. § The number of

* Idem, p. 372.

† 1 Hening, p. 374.

‡ Idem, p. 374-375.

† James City, Henrico, Charles City, Elizabeth City, Warwick River, Warrasqueake, Charles River, and Accomack were the 8 original counties formed in 1634. 1 Hening, p. 224. Warrasqueake was changed to Isle of Wight in 1637, and first represented 1613—Id. p. 239. The name of Charles River was changed to York, and of Warwick River to Warwick in 1643—Id. 219. The boundaries of Upper and Lower Norfolk were fixed in 1612—Id. p. 247. Name of Upper Norfolk changed to Nansimoun afterwards Nanscmond, 1616—Id. p. 321. Northumberland first mentioned, 1645—Id. p. 352. Westmoreland, 1653—Id. p. 381. Surry, Gloucester and Lancaster, 1652—Id. p. 373, 374. New Kent first represented 1654. Taken from upper part of York county—Id. p. 387. Rappahannock formed from upper part of Lancaster, 1656—Id. p. 427.

Burgesses in this year was 34. Upon the meeting of the Assembly, [July, 5th,] some difference occurred between the Governor and the House, relative to the election of Speaker. The affair, however, was compromised, and Bennet seems to have enjoyed the confidence of the Virginians. Several malecontents were punished for speaking contemptuously of the Provisional Government and for refusing to pay the "castle dues." *

Owing to the war between Holland and the Protector, Sir William Berkley had not yet been able to depart from Virginia, in conformity with the Convention of 1651, and he therefore now became subject to arrest. But the Assembly passed an act stating, "that as the war between England and Holland had prevented the confirmation of the Convention of 1651 in England, or the coming of a ship out of Holland and the said Sir William Berkeley desires a longer time, viz:—eight months from the date hereof, to procure a ship out of Flanders, in respect of the war with Holland and that he be custom free for such tobacco as he shall lade in her;—it is condescended, that his said request shall be granted." † Some seditious disturbances having taken place in Northampton, on the Eastern Shore, it was found necessary for the Governor and the Secretary, with a party of gentlemen, to repair thither for the purpose of restoring order. Edmund Scarborough was a ring-leader in these disorders.

In this year land was granted to Roger Green and others, living in Nansemond county, for exploring and settling the country bordering on the Moratuck or Roanoke ‡ and Chowan rivers. In the preceding year, Col. William Clayborne and Capt. Henry Fleet were authorized to make discoveries to the South and West. § "Diverse gentlemen" were, [1653,] permitted to "discover the Mountains." ||

At the meeting of the assembly, [1654,]

William Hatcher, being convicted of having called Colonel Edward Hill, speaker of the House, "an atheist and blasphemer," was compelled to make acknowledgment of his offence upon his knees, before Colonel Hill and the assembly. This Hatcher appears to have been a burgess of Henrico in 1652. * More than twenty years afterwards, in his old age, he was fined eight thousand pounds of pork, for the use of the king's soldiers, on account of mutinous words uttered shortly after Bacon's rebellion. †

[April 20th, 1653.] Cromwell dissolved the Long Parliament, and on the 16th of December in the same year became "Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland and Ireland."

In the meantime, Stone, (who since June 28th, 1652, had continued in the place of Governor of Maryland,) in consonance with the instructions of Lord Baltimore, violated the terms of the compromise arranged with Bennet and Clayborne, in behalf of the Parliament. These commissioners addressed a letter to Stone proposing an interview. He made a rude reply and indulged in this expression, "We in plain terms say we suppose you to be Wolves in Sheep's clothing." Bennet and Clayborne, now "by authority derived from his Highness the Lord Protector," seized the government of the province and intrusted it to a board of ten Commissioners. ‡ When Lord Baltimore received intelligence of it, he wrote, [Nov., 1654,] to Stone reproaching him with cowardice and peremptorily commanded him to recover the colony by force of arms. "Stone and all *Maryland* fall to arms and disarm and plunder those that would not accept the aforesaid oath" of allegiance to Baltimore. Maryland contained many emigrants from Virginia of Puritan principles. These dwelt mainly on the banks of the Severn and the Patuxent and on the Isle of Kent. They were disaffected to the Proprietary government and protested that they had removed to Maryland, under the express engagement of Stone, that they should be exempt from the obnoxious oath. Part of the recusants now took up arms and civil war desolated the in-

* 1 Hening, p. 379. Burk 2, p. 95-96.

† Burk 2, p. 99-100. Hening 1, p. 384.

‡ This River was called Moratuck or Moratock above the falls, Roanoke below. Roanoke signified "shell?" Roanoke and Wampum-peake were terms for Indian shell-money.

§ 1 Hening, p. 377.

|| Idem, p. 381.

* Hening, vol. 1, p. 369.

† Hening, vol. 2, p. 551.

‡ "Virginia and Maryland," Force's Hist. Tracts, vol. 2.

fant Maryland. At length, in an action, Stone and his people were utterly defeated. "There were near double the number in Prisoners to the Victors; twenty slain, many wounded, and all the place strewed with Papist beads where they fled." *

Thus Maryland became subject to the Protectorate.

Among the prisoners was the Governor, Stone, who had been "shot in many places." Several of the prisoners were condemned to death by a court martial. Four of the principal, one of them a councillor, were executed on the spot. Stone likewise sentenced, owed his escape to the intercession "of some women" and the interposition of some of Bennet and Clayborne's people. † John Hammond, (the same that had been two years before expelled from the Virginia Assembly,) one of the condemned, fled in disguise and escaped to England in the ship Crescent. ‡

The administration of the Commissioners was rigorous. Religious freedom was allowed by the assembly to all except papists. Such were likewise Milton's views of toleration. § Cromwell soaring higher commanded the commissioners "not to busy themselves about religion, but to settle the civil government." And remembering Lord Baltimore's ready submission to his authority, restored him to the command of the province. The following letter was written by the Protector to curb the violent contest

of Virginia and Maryland respecting their boundary.

"To the Commissioners of Maryland.

Whitehall, 26th September, 1655.

Sirs,

It seems to us by yours of the 29th of June, and by the relation we received by Colonel Bennet, that some mistake or scruple hath arisen concerning the sense of our Letters of the 12th of January last—as if by our Letters we had intimated that we should have a stop put to the proceedings of those commissioners who were authorized to settle the civil government of Maryland. Which was not at all intended by us; nor so much as proposed to us by those who made addresses to us to obtain our said Letter. But our intention, (as our said Letter doth plainly import,) was only to prevent and forbid any force or violence to be offered by either of the Plantations of Virginia or Maryland from one to the other upon the differences concerning their bounds. The said differences being then under the consideration of Ourselves and Council here. Which for your more full satisfaction we have thought fit to signify to you; and rest

your loving friend,

OLIVER P." *

[March, 30th, 1655.] Edward Digges was elected Governor. † He succeeded Bennet who had held the office from the 30th of April, 1652, and who was now appointed the colony's agent at London. [1656.] Six or seven hundred Ricaheerian Indians came down from the mountains and seated themselves near the falls of James river. Colonel Edward Hill, the elder, with a body of men was ordered to dislodge them. He was reinforced by Totopotomoi, ‡ chief of Pamunkey, with one hundred of his tribe. Hill was defeated and Totopotomoi with the greater part of his warriors slain. § Hill, on

* It was the custom of the Maryland Romanists to celebrate, July 31st, the anniversary of St. Ignatius Maryland's patron Saint by a salute of cannon. [1656.] On August 1st, the day following the anniversary, "certain soldiers, unjust plunderers, Englishmen indeed by birth, of the heterodox faith, "aroused by the nocturnal report of the cannon, issued from their fort 5 miles distant, rushed upon the habitations of the Papists, broke into them and plundered whatever there was there of arms or powder.

White's Relation. Force, vol. 4.

† "Leah and Rachel." Force's Hist. Tracts, vol. 3. Chalmers' Political Annals, p. 222.

‡ The Master of this vessel was "amersed" "in deep penalties by the Virginia Assembly, for carrying off Hammond, without a pass." Leah and Rachel, p. 29. Force's Hist. Tracts, vol. 3. "But the conditions being treacherously violated, four of the captives and three of them Catholics were pierced with leaden balls." The Jesuit fathers hotly pursued escaped to Virginia, where they inhabited "a mean hut, low and depressed, not much unlike a cistern or even the tomb in which that great defender of the faith, St. Athanasius, lay concealed for many years." White's Relation. Force, vol. 4.

§ Milton's Prose Works, vol. 2, p. 316.

* Carlyle's Cromwell, vol. 2, p. 182.

† Hening, vol. 1, p. 408 in note.

‡ There is a creek in Hanover called Totopotomoy.

"The mighty TOTTIPOTIMOV
Sent to our elders an envoy
Complaining sorely of the breach
Of league held forth by brother Patch."

Hudibras, cited in *Thatcher's Indian Biography*, vol. 1, p. 103.

§ It seems not improbable that Bloody Run, near Richmond, derived its name from this battle, instead of the one in which Bacon was afterwards engaged, with which tradition has connected this rivulet.

account of his misconduct in this affair, was compelled to pay the cost of the expedition and disfranchised.* In this year an act was passed allowing all free men the right of voting for burgesses, on the ground that "it is something hard and unagreeable to reason that any persons shall pay equall taxes and yet have no votes in elections."† So republican was the elective franchise in Virginia near two centuries ago! [1656.] Colonel Thomas Dew, of Nansemond county, sometime before Speaker of the House and others were authorized to explore the country between Cape Hatteras and Cape Fear. The county of Nansemond had long abounded with non-conformists.‡ [March 13, 1658.] Samuel Matthews was elected Governor in the place of Digges, who was sent out to assist Bennet in the agency at London early in 1656. Matthews was "an old planter of nearly forty years standing," had been a member of the council, [1624,] and now "a most deserving commonwealth's man, kept a good house, lived bravely and was a true lover of Virginia."§ The burgesses now rescinded the order admitting the governor and council as members of their House and voted an adjournment. Matthews, on the 1st of April, declared a dissolution of the assembly. The house resisted it and after an oath of secrecy, the members were enjoined not to betray their trust by submission. The Governor yielded, reserving an appeal to the Protector. The burgesses now voted the governor's answer unsatisfactory and he revoked the order of dissolution, still referring the decision to Cromwell. The House now appointed a committee of which John Carter, of Lancaster, was chief, and made a declaration of popular sovereignty. The former elections of governor and appointments of councillors were decreed to be void, and Matthews was re-elected and invested "with all the just rights and privileges belonging to the Governor and Cap-

taine-Generall of Virginia." The Governor acquiesced, and took a new oath just prescribed. The council was organized anew.* The legislative records do not develop the particular ground on which the previous elections of governor and appointments of councillors under the provisional government were annulled. From the exclusion of the executive functionaries from the House, it might be inferred that this annulment was grounded upon a jealousy of officers being members of the body that elected them. Yet this objection could not hold good against Bennet, the first of the three Governors, and his council, as they had been expressly allowed, [1652,] to be ex-officio members of the house of burgesses.

Matthews, Governor elect, (having been re-elected in 1659,) was shortly after commissioned to support the interests of Virginia in London conjointly with Bennet and Digges.† By a singular coincidence the three governors were thus transferred from the miniature capital of Virginia and found themselves together near the court of "his highnesse," the Lord Protector. [March, 1659.] A letter dated at Whitehall, September 7th, 1658, was received at Jamestown, addressed to the governor and council, (although none appear to have been appointed since the departure of Matthews,) announcing the demise on the 3rd of that month of his highness, Oliver Cromwell Lord Protector of England and the succession of his eldest son Richard to the protectorate. The letter was subscribed by Henry Lawrence, president of the council. Upon its being read before the assembly a resolution was passed fully recognizing Richard Cromwell as successor and an address sent to "his highnesse." So much truth is there in Mr. Jefferson's remark, that Virginia, "in the contest with the House of Stuart, only accompanied the footsteps of the mother country."‡ The letter of Lawrence mentioned that the late Protector, considering the loose and unsettled state of the government in Virginia, had been engaged in measures for

* Burk 2, p. 107.

† Hening, vol. 1, p. 403.

‡ Bancroft, vol. 2, p. 131.

§ Bancroft, vol. 1, p. 226, citing Mass. Hist. Coll. Burk, vol. 2, p. 112, says "of the transactions from this period, [1656] to the restoration, [1660] there is an entire chasm in the records." According to Hening, on the contrary, vol. 1, p. 429 in note, "in no portion of the colonial records under the commonwealth are the materials so copious as from 1656 to 1660."

* Bancroft, vol. 1, p. 226. Hen. vol 1, p. 504-5.

† The letters addressed to Cromwell, and to Thurlow, Secretary of State, together with instructions to Matthews and Digges may be found in Burk, vol. 2, p. 116-17. For the re-election of Matthews see Hen., vol. 1, p. 529.

‡ Preface to T. M's account of Bacon's rebellion in Kercheval's Hist. of Valley of Va., p. 21.

re-organizing it, which had been interrupted by his death. The government of Virginia, Matthews, governor elect, had died in the under the Commonwealth of England, was January previous. England was without a mild and just. While Cromwell's sceptre monarch; Virginia without a governor. Here commanded the respect of the world, he exhibited generous and politic leniency towards the infant and loyal colony. She enjoyed during this interval free trade, legislative independence and internal peace. The governors were men who by their virtues and moderation won the confidence and affections of the people. No extravagance, rapacity, or extortion, could be alleged against the administration. Intolerance and persecution were unknown, with the single exception of a rigorous act banishing the quakers.* But rapine, extravagance, extortion, intolerance and persecution were all soon to be revived under the auspices of the Stuarts.

CHAPTER XXII.

1660—1669.

Richard Cromwell resigns the Protectorate; Supreme power claimed by the Assembly; Sir William Berkley elected Governor by the Assembly; Errors of Historians on this subject; Circumstances of Berkley's election; Stuyvesant's Letter; Charles sends a commission to Berkley from Breda; Berkley's reply; The Church in Virginia; Assembly of 1661; Intelligence received of the Restoration of Charles II.; Assembly sends an address to the King; Demonstrations of Loyalty; Enormous emoluments of the Governor; Altered tone of the Assembly; Power of Taxation vested for three years in the Governor and Council; General Act relating to the Indians; Miscellaneous affairs; Sir William Berkley appointed to superintend the establishment of a Colony on the borders of Albemarle Sound; Batte's Expedition across the mountains; Number of the Indians; Greenspring settled on Sir Wm. Berkley.

[1659.] The tenure of the office of Councillors was fixed for life and they were to be nominated by the Governor and confirmed by the Burgesses. Richard Cromwell re-

* Sir Walter Scott, in the introduction to the second series of the "Tales of my Landlord," exclaims: "For O ye powers of logic! when the prelatis and the Presbyterians of old times went by the ears together in this unlucky country, my ancestor (venerated be his memory!) was one of the people called Quakers and suffered severe handling on either side, even to the extenuation of his purse and the incarceration of his person." Such was the fortune of the Quakers in Virginia.

signed the protectorate in March, 1660.— The assembly convening on the 13th of March, 1660, declared by their first act, that as there was then in England "noe resident absolute and generall confessed power," therefore the supreme government of the colony should rest in the assembly.

By the second act, Sir William Berkley was appointed governor, and it was ordered that all writs should issue in the name of the assembly. The governor was restricted from dissolving the assembly without its consent.

No fact in our history has been more misunderstood and misrepresented than this re-appointment of Sir William Berkley, before the restoration of Charles II. If we were to believe the fanciful statements of historians, who from age to age have blindly followed each other in fabulous tradition, wilful perversion, or erroneous conjecture, Sir William was hurried from retirement by a torrent of popular enthusiasm, made governor by acclamation, and the standard of Charles II. boldly erected in the colony several months before the restoration, and thus the Virginians as they had been the last of the king's subjects who renounced their allegiance, so they were the first who returned to it! * But as has been seen, Sir William was elected, not by a tumultuary assemblage of the people, but by the assembly; the royal standard was not raised upon the occasion, nor was the king proclaimed. Sir William, however, made no secret of his loyalty. He spoke of the late king as, "my most gracious master, king Charles, of ever blessed memory," and as "my ever honoured Master," who "was put to a violent death." Alluding to the surrender of the Colony, he said, the Parliament "sent a small power to force my submission to them, which finding me defenceless, was quietly (God pardon me) effected." Of the several parliaments and the protectorate he remarked, "And, I believe, Mr. Speaker, you think, if my voice had been prevalent in most

* Robertson's History of America, vol. 4, p 230. Beverley, B. 1, p. 55. Chalmers' Annals, p. 124. Burk, vol. 2, p. 120. See also Hening, vol. 1, p. 526. Hening corrected these errors and his correction has been indubitably confirmed. An error in history is like sheep jumping over a bridge. If one goes, the rest all follow.

of their elections, I would not voluntarily have made choice of them for my Supreamies. But, Mr. Speaker, all this I have said, is one-
ly to make this truth apparent to you, that in and under all these mutable governments of divers natures and constitutions, I have lived most resignedly submissive. But, Mr. Speaker, it is one dutie to live obedient to a government and another of a very different nature, to command under it."

The assembly repeatedly declared, that there was then "no generall confessed power" in England; in a word, that it was an interregnum. The fictions which history has recorded on this head, are as idle as the tales of oriental romance.*

The assembly having proffered the office of Governor to Sir William Berkley, he on the 19th of March, 1660, made a reply, in which he said:—"I doe therefore in the presence of God and you, make this safe protestation for us all, that if any supreame settled power appears, I will imediately lay down my comission, but will live most submissively obedient to any power God shall set over me, as the experience of eight years have shewed I have done." †

Sir William was elected on the 21st of the same month, about two months before the restoration of Charles II. Yet the word king, or majesty, occurs no where in the legislative records, from the commencement of the Commonwealth in England, until the 11th of October, 1660—more than four months after the restoration.‡ Virginia was indeed loyal, but she was too feeble to express her loyalty.

* Beverley probably originated this tissue of fictions Chalmers' ought to have known better, for he had access to the English archives.

† Southern Literary Messenger for January, 1845, where may be found Sir William's curions speech on this occasion and king Charles the second's commission to him. These documents were published by the indefatigable antiquary, Peter Force, Esq.

‡ The Councill's Assent to the choice of Sir William Berkley.

"Wee doe unanimously concur in the election of William Berkley to be the present Goverour of this Colony.

March 21st, 1659 [1660.]

Rich. Bennett,	Tho. Clatborne,
W. Bernard,	Edw. Hill,
John Walker,	Tho. Dewe,
Geo. Reade,	Edw. Carter,
Tho. Pettus,	Tho. Swann,
	Augustin Warner."

‡ Hening, vol. 2, p. 9, in note.

When Argall, in 1614,* returning from his half-piratical excursion against the French, at Port Royal, entered the waters of New York, he found three or four huts, erected by Dutch mariners and fishermen on the island of Manhattan. In near a half century that had now elapsed, the colony there had grown to an importance that justified diplomatic correspondence. In the Spring of 1660, Nicholas Varleth and Brian Newton were sent by governor Stuyvesant, from Fort Amsterdam to Virginia, for the purpose of forming a league, acknowledging the Dutch title to New York. Sir William made an artful evasion in the following letter.

"SIR,—I have received the letter you were pleased to send me by Mr. Mills his vessel, and shall be ever ready to comply with you, in all acts of neighbourly friendship and amity; but truly sir, you desire me to do that concerning your letter and claims to land in the Northern part of America, which I am incapable to do; for I am but a servant of the assembly's; neither do they arrogate any power to themselves, farther than the miserable distractions of England force them to. For when God shall be pleased in his mercy to take away and dissipate the unnatural divisions of their native country, they will immediately return to their own professed obedience. What then they should do in matters of contract, donation and confession of right, would have little strength or signification; much more presumptive and impertinent would it be in me to do it without their knowledge or assent. We shall very shortly meet again, and then if to them you signify your desires, I shall labour all I can to get you a satisfactory answer.

I am, sir, your humble servant,

WILLIAM BERKLEY."

Virginia, Aug. 20, 1660.

Peter Stuyvesant, the last of the Dutch governors of New Amsterdam, within a few years was dispossessed by an English squadron. This letter of Sir William Berkley was written nearly three months *after* the restoration, and yet he alludes to the English government as still in a state of interregnum, and writes not one word in recognition of his majesty, Charles II.

* Stith, p. 133. Bancroft, vol. 1, p. 118, and vol. 2, p. 272, makes this date 1613.

The restored Charles transmitted a new commission, dated July 31, 1660, at Westminster to his faithful adherent, Berkley. His letter of acknowledgment written March 18th, 1661, is full of extravagant loyalty. He apologizes for having accepted office from the Assembly thus: "it was noe more may it please your Majestic, than to leape over the fold to save your Majesties flock, when your Majesties enemies of that fold had barred up the lawfull entrance into it and enclosed the Wolves of Scisme and rebellion ready to devour all within it," &c. *

[1661.] The settlements of Virginia extended from the Potomac to the Chowan, besides the isolated Accomac. There were fifty Parishes. The plantations lay dispersed along the banks of rivers and creeks, those on the James stretching above a hundred miles into the interior. Each Parish extended many miles in length along the river's side, but in breadth ran back only a mile. This was the average breadth of the plantations, their length varying from half a mile to three miles or more. The fifty parishes comprehending an area supposed to be equal to one half of England, it was inevitable that many of the inhabitants lived very remote from the parish church. Many parishes indeed as yet were destitute of churches and glebes. Not more than ten parishes were supplied with ministers. † Where there were ministers, worship was usually held once on Sunday. But the remote parishioners seldom attended. The planters, whether from indifference or from the want of means, were negligent in the building of churches. "And hence it" was "that through the licentious lives of many of them the Christian Religion" was "dishonoured and the Name of God" "blasphemed among the Heathen, who" were "near them

and oft among them and consequently their Conversion hindered." *

The general want of schools, likewise owing to the sparseness of the population, was "most of all bewailed of Parents" in Virginia. The want of schools was more deplored than the want of churches. The children of Virginia, naturally "of beautiful and comely persons and generally of more ingenious spirits than" those "in *England*," were doomed to grow up "unserviceable for any great employments in Church or State."

As a principal remedy for these ills, the establishment of Towns was recommended. It was further proposed, to erect schools in the colony, and for the supply of Ministers, to establish Virginia Fellowships at Oxford and Cambridge, with an engagement to serve the Church in Virginia for seven years. A further part of this plan was to send over a Bishop, "so soon as there shall be a City for his See." These recommendations, however, although urged [September 2, 1661,] with forcible arguments upon the attention of the Bishop of London, seem, from whatever cause, to have proved abortive. †

The assembly of March 23rd, 1661, consisted in the main of new members. Another session was held in October of the same year, and it contained still fewer of the members who had held seats during the Commonwealth. Intelligence of the restoration of Charles 2nd, had already reached Virginia and was joyfully received. An address was sent to the king, praying a pardon to the inhabitants of the country for having yielded to a force which they could not resist! Forty-four thousand pounds of tobacco were appropriated to Major General Hammond and Colonel Guy Molesworth, for being "employed" "in the address." Sir Henry Moody was despatched as ambassador "to the Mandos" (New York.) The assembly strove to display its loyalty by bountiful appropriations to the governor and the leading royalists. The restoration in England was perfectly reflected by the restoration in Virginia. The

* See Sir William Berkley's Speeches on this occasion, the Council's assent to his election, the new commission and Sir William's answer, published by Peter Force, Esq., in the Sou. Lit. Messenger for January, 1845.

† Some of these were far from being exemplary. "They then began to provide and send home for Gospel Ministers and largely contributed for their maintenance; But Virginia savouring not handsomely in *England* very few of good conversation would adventure thither (as thinking it a place wherein surely the fear of God was not,) yet many came, such as wore Black Coats and could bable in a Pulpit, roar in a Tavern, exact from their Parishioners and rather by their dissoluteness destroy than feed their flocks." Leah and Rachel. 3 Force.

* Virginia's Cure, 6, in 3rd Force.

† "Virginia's Cure" (3rd Force.) This pamphlet, printed at London, 1662, was drawn up by a clergyman, whose initials, R. G., only are given. From his intimate acquaintance with the condition of Virginia, it is to be inferred that he had resided here. "Virginia's Cure" is written with uncommon perspicuity and vigor, and in a spirit of earnest benevolence.

necessity of circumstances had made the government of the colony republican. For a short time Sir William Berkely had been identified with this system. He and the new assembly were now eagerly running in an opposite tack and were impatient to wipe away all traces of their late forced disobedience and involuntary recognition of the popular sovereignty.

Sir William Berkeley was sent to England, agent to defend the colony, against the Virginia Company, which was still laboring to resume its sway.* He embarked in May, 1661, and returned in the fall of 1662. — His pay, on account of this embassy, was two hundred thousand pounds of tobacco. Besides this amount he received sixty thousand pounds of tobacco for his services as governor. The whole of his emoluments thus amounted to the enormous quantity of seven hundred and forty-three hogsheads of three hundred and fifty pounds, † and worth upwards of nine thousand dollars.

The assembly's tone was now altered; during the commonwealth, Oliver Cromwell had been addressed as "his Highness," and the burgesses had subscribed themselves "his most humble, most devoted servants." Nor had Richard Cromwell been treated with less respectful submission. But now the following language was employed:—"Whereas, our late surrender and submission to that execrable power, that soe bloodylly massacred the late king Charles the 1st, of ever blessed and gloriouſ memory, hath made us by acknowledging them, guilty of their crimes, to shew our serious and hearty repentance and detestation of that barbarous act, *Bee it en-*

acted that the 30th of January, the day the said king was beheaded, be annually solemnized with fasting and prayers, that our sorowes may expiate our crime and our teares wash away our guilt." *

The place of Berkeley was filled during his absence by Colonel Francis Morrison, elected Governor and Captain General by the Council.

The 29th of May, the birth-day of Charles II., was made an anniversary holiday. The navigation act was now in full force in Virginia. The price of tobacco fell very low, while the cost of imported goods was enhanced. † An act prohibiting the importation of luxuries seems to have been negatived by the governor. ‡ It was ordered that "no person hereafter shall trade with the Indians, for any bever, otter or any other furres, unlesse he first obteine a commission from the governour." This act gave great offence to the people. It was in effect an indirect monopoly of the fur trade. By a still more high-handed measure, the governor and council were empowered to lay taxes for three years, unless in the mean time some urgent occasion should necessitate the calling together of the assembly. Thus the power of taxation, the main safeguard of freedom, was given to the executive. Major John Bond, a magistrate, was disfranchised "for factious and schismatical demeanors." § Some independent spirit, however, gleamed in a resolution, declaring that the king's pardon did not extend to a penalty for planting tobacco contrary to law. || An act making provision for a college, seems to have remained a dead letter; others equally futile were enacted in ensuing sessions. Colonel William Clayborne, Secretary of State, was displaced by Thomas Ludwell, commissioned by the king. In a revision of the laws, it was ordered, that all acts which "might keep in memory our inforced deviation from his majestie's obedience," should be "repealed and expunged." ¶ Although there were not ministers in above one-fifth of the parishes, yet the laws demanded strict conformity and

* While he was in England, the Assembly sent to him a copy of the revised Laws in order that he should procure their ratification. Hening, vol 2, pp. 147-148.

† Hening, vol. 2, pp. 7 and 17. Bancroft, vol. 2, p. 197, seems to have misconceived the object of Sir William's mission: "The apprehensions of Virginia were awakened by the establishment of the colonial monopoly in the navigation act, and the assembly alarmed at this open violation of the natural and prescriptive "freedoms" of the colony, appointed Sir William Berkely its agent to present the grievances of Virginia and procure their redress." It is true, however, that Sir William, from interest or patriotism, or both, was strenuously opposed to the commercial monopoly. But if Berkley, while Colonial Agent, exerted himself in opposition to the Navigation Act, his efforts were altogether fruitless. Grahame, vol. I., p. 95, says that Virginia "warmly remonstrated" against the Act.

‡ The average weight of a Hogshead of Tobacco at this period, was about 350 pounds. Hening, vol. 1, p. 435.

* Hening, vol. 2, p. 21.

† Bancroft, vol. 2, pp. 178-199.

‡ Hening, vol. 2, p. 18. The conjecture is Mr. Jefferson's.

§ Hening, vol. 2, p. 39.

|| Ibid, vol. 2, p. 36.

¶ Ibid, vol. 2, p. 42.

required all to contribute to the established church. The vestry was now invested with the power of perpetuating its own body, by filling vacancies themselves.* The assembly declared a determination to adhere, as near as "the capacity and constitution" of the country would admit, "to those excellent and often refined laws of England."† The burgesses declare that "they have set down certain rules to be observed in the government of the church, until God shall please to turn his majesty's pious thoughts" towards them and "provide a better supply of ministers."‡

The "pious thoughts" of Charles II. (if he ever had any) were never turned to this remote corner of his empire. The magistrates, hitherto called commissioners, were now styled "justices of the peace," and their courts, "county courts."§ A duty was laid on rum, because it "had by experience been found to bring diseases and death to diverse people." An impost first established during the commonwealth,|| was still levied on every hogshead of tobacco exported. This became a fixed source of revenue and rendered the executive independent of the legislature.

The numerous acts relating to the Indians were reduced into one; prohibiting the English from purchasing Indian lands; securing their persons and property; preventing encroachments on their territory; ordering the English seated near to assist them in fencing their corn-fields; licensing them to oyster, fish, hunt and gather the natural fruits of the country; prohibiting trade with them without license, or imprisonment of an Indian king without special warrant; bounds to be annually defined; badges of silver and copper plate to be furnished to Indian kings; no Indian to enter the English confines without a badge, under penalty of imprisonment, till ransomed by one hundred arms length of roanoke, (Indian shell-money;) Indian kings, tributary to the English, to give alarm of ap-

proach of hostile Indians; Indians not to be sold as slaves, &c.*

Wahanganoche, king of Potomac, charged with treason and murder by Captain Charles Brent, before the assembly, was acquitted, and Brent, with others concerned, was ordered to pay Wahanganoche a certain sum of roanoke and some match-coats. The offenders were moreover disfranchised and held to security for their good behavior.†

In December, 1662, the assembly declared that "many schismatical persons out of their aversenesse to the orthodox established religion, or out of the new-fangled conceits of their owne hereticall inventions, refuse to have their children baptised" and imposed on such a fine of two thousand pounds of tobacco.‡ The General Court of Boston, in New England, having discharged a servant belonging to William Drummond, an inhabitant of Virginia, the assembly ordered reprimand to be made on the property of some person residing at Boston.

An act passed during the commonwealth for the suppression of the sect of Quakers, was now made still more rigorous. Persons attending their meetings were fined, for the first offence, 200lbs. of tobacco, for the second, 500lbs., for the third, banished.§

Mr. Durand, elder of a Puritan "very orthodox church," in Nansemond county, had been banished from Virginia, by Sir William Berkley, in 1648. [1662.] The Yeopim Indians granted to "George Durant" the neck of land in North Carolina, which still bears his name. He was probably the exile. April 1, 1663, George Cathmaid claimed a large grant of land upon the borders of Albemarle Sound, in reward for having colonized sixty-seven persons in that province. In the same year, Berkley was commissioned to institute a government over this newly settled region, which in honor of general Monk, now made Duke of Albemarle, received the name which time has transferred to the sound.||

* Bancroft, vol. 2, p. 201. Hening, vol. 2, p. 44.

+ Hening, vol. 1, pp. 149 150.

† Hening, vol. 2, p. 166. Bancroft, vol. 2, p. 202 in note, concludes that these persons were Baptists and adds, "Anabaptists are again named. Hen., vol. 2, p. 198." But here the Anabaptist was a quaker. Baptists it is true, reject infant Baptism; but they who reject infant Baptism are not necessarily Baptists. The Baptists of Virginia, at an early day, "disclaimed all connection with the Anabaptists." See Semple's Virginia Baptists, p. 21.

§ Hening, vol. 2, pp. 180-183. Campbell, pp. 68-69-97.

|| Bancroft, vol. 2, pp. 134-135.

* Bancroft, vol. 2, p. 201. Hening, vol. 2, p. 44.

† Chalmers' Introduction to a History of the Revolt of the American Colonies, vol. 1, p. 101. Hening, vol. 2, p. 43.

‡ [1661.] The Rev. Philip Mallory was sent out to England to solicit the cause of the Church in Virginia. 2 Hening, p. 31. Vestries were ordered to procure subscriptions for the support of the Ministry.—Ib. p. 37.

§ Hening, vol. 2, p. 59.

|| Chalmers' Introduction, vol. 1, p. 101.

[1663.] The Assembly of Virginia defined the boundary between Virginia and Maryland and ordered Colonel Edward Scarburgh, Surveyor General, "to improve his best abilities in all other his majesty's concerns of land relating to Virginia, especially that to the northward of forty degrees of latitude, being the utmost bounds of the said Lord Baltimore's grant." *

[1666.] Maryland and North Carolina consenting to a "stint," as it was then styled, the assembly of Virginia ordered a total cessation of the cultivation of tobacco during the following year. †

[1667.] Sir William Berkeley sent out a company of fourteen English and as many Indians, under command of Captain Henry Batt, to explore the Indian country. Setting out from the Appomattox river, in seven days they reached the foot of the mountains. The first ridge was not very high or steep; but after crossing that, they encountered others that seemed to touch the clouds and so steep that in a day's march, they could not advance more than three miles in a direct line. They found extensive valleys of richest verdure, abounding with turkeys, deer, elk and buffaloe, gentle and undisturbed as yet by the fear of man. Grapes were seen of the size of plums. After passing over the mountains, they came upon a delightful level country and discovered a rivulet that flowed to the Westward. Following it for some days, they reached old fields and cabins recently occupied by the natives. Batt left toys in them. Not far from these cabins, at some marshes, the Indian guides halted and refused to go any further, saying that not far off dwelt a powerful tribe that never suffered strangers that discovered their towns to escape. Batt was compelled to return. Upon receiving his report, Sir William Berkeley resolved to make an exploration himself. But his project was frustrated by the troubles that shortly after fell upon the country. ‡

About this time, each county of Virginia was required to provide a weaver and a loom. §

The thirty tribes of Indians comprised within the Powhatan confederacy, south of the Potomac, at the time of the first landing

at Jamestown, is conjecturally estimated at about eight thousand, being one to the square mile. * [1669.] The number of warriors belonging to tribes tributary to Virginia, was seven hundred and twenty-five and their proportion to the entire population being reckoned as three to ten, their aggregate number was about 2,400. Thus in about sixty years, the diminution of their numbers amounted to about five thousand, six hundred. Of these, part had perished from disease, intemperance, famine and war; the rest had been driven back into the wilderness beyond the frontier.

The lands at Green Spring, near Jamestown, were now settled on Sir William Berkeley, the preamble to the act of conveyance reciting among his merits, "the great paines hee hath taken and hazards hee hath runne even of his life, in the government and preservation of the country from many attempts of the Indians, and alsoe in preserving us in our due allegiance to his majestie's royall father of blessed memory, and his now most sacred majestie against all attempts long after all his majestie's other dominions were subjected to the tyranny of the late usurpers and alsoe seriously considering, that the said Sir William Berkeley hath in all the time of his government under his most sacred majestie and his royall father, made it his onely care to keep his majestie's country in a due obedience to our rightfull and lawfull sovereignce," &c.

CHAPTER XXIII.

1670—1675.

Sir William Berkley's reply to enquiries of the Lord Commissioners; The government of Virginia; The Militia; Forts; Indians; Boundary of Virginia; Commodities raised; Population; Health; Trade; Restrictions on it; Governor's Salary; Quit-rents; Parishes; Free schools and Printing; Charles grants the territory of Virginia to Arlington and Culpepper; Revolt threatened in 1674; Indian incursions; Berkley's imbecility; Other grievances of the Planters; They appoint Agents to lay their

* Jefferson's Notes on Virginia, p. 97. Hening, vol. 2, pp. 274-275. Bancroft, vol. 1, p. 180. Supposing that the population of the mountain country was rather sparser than that of the lowlands, the whole number of the natives within the limits of the present territory of Virginia, by a rough conjecture, may be estimated at forty thousand.

† 2. Hening, pp. 183-4.

‡ Account of Bacon's Rebellion in Virginia Gazette.

§ Beverley, B. 1, p. 61.

§ Hening, vol. 2, p. 238.

complaints before the King; New restrictions on trade; Spirit of the Virginians; Elements of disaffection; Three ominous presages.

[1670.] The lords commissioners of foreign plantations forwarded enquiries to Sir William Berkeley respecting Virginia, and he answered them in the following year, presenting a satisfactory statistical account of the colony. The executive consisted of a governor and sixteen councillors, who held from the king a commission to hear and determine all causes above fifteen pounds. Causes of less amount were tried by county courts, of which there were twenty. The assembly met every year, composed of two burgesses from each county. Appeals lay to the assembly. That body levied the taxes. (This power, however, was delegated for some years to the executive.) The legislative and executive powers rested in the governor, council, assembly and subordinate officers. The secretary of the colony sent the acts of assembly to the Lord Chancellor or one of the principal secretaries in England. All freemen were bound to muster monthly in their own counties, and the force of the colony amounted to upwards of eight thousand horsemen. There were two forts on the James and one on each of the three rivers, Rappahannock, York and Potomac. The number of cannon was thirty. The Indians were in perfect subjection. The Eastern boundary of Virginia, on the sea coast, had been reduced from ten degrees, to half of a degree. Tobacco was the only commodity of any great value; exotic mulberry trees had been planted, and some attempts made to manufacture silk. There was plenty of timber; of iron ore but little discovered. The whole population was 40,000; of which were 2,000 negro slaves, * 6,000 white servants. The average annual importation of servants, was about 1,500; most of them English, a few Scotch, fewer Irish, and not above two or three ships with negroes in seven years. New plantations were found sickly, and in such, four-fifths of the new settlers died. Eighty vessels came yearly from England and Ireland for tobacco. A few small vessels came from New England. Virginia had

not more than two vessels and they not over twenty tons. Sir William Berkeley complains bitterly of the act of parliament, restricting the trade of Virginia to the British kingdom;—a policy at once injurious to both parties. He adds that, "This is the cause, why no small or great vessels are built here; for we are most obedient to all laws, while the New England men break through and men trade to any place that their interest lead them." The only duty levied was two shillings on every hogshead of tobacco exported. Out of this revenue, the king allowed the governor £1,000, to which the assembly added £200. Yet Sir William complains, "I can knowingly affirm, that there is no government of ten years settlement, but has thrice as much allowed him. But I am supported by my hopes, that his gracious majesty will one day consider me." The king had no revenue in the colony except quit-rents. Every man instructed his children himself according to his ability. There were forty-eight parishes and "our ministers are well paid and by my consent should be better, if they would pray oftener and preach less. But as of all other commodities so of this, the worst are sent us and we have had few that we could boast of, since the persecution in Cromwell's tyranny drove divers men hither. But I thank God, there are no free schools nor printing, and I hope we shall not have these hundred years; for learning has brought disobedience and heresy and sects into the world, and printing has divulged them and libels against the best government. God keep us from both!"

The restoration, "the worst of all governments," had resulted in establishing an arbitrary and oppressive administration in Virginia, in church and state. But as if the wantonness of re-instated tyranny rioted in boundless license, new outrages were at hand. [1673.] Charles made grants to the Earl of Arlington and Lord Culpepper embracing the entire territory of Virginia. The patents entitled them to all rents and escheats, with power to convey all vacant lands, nominate sheriffs, escheators, surveyors, &c., present to all churches and endow them with lands, to form countries, parishes, &c. The grants to these noblemen were limited to the term of thirty-one years, and yet they were preposterously authorized to make convey-

* They had increased one hundred fold in fifty years, since 1620, when the first twenty were imported.

ances in fee simple.* Henry, Earl of Arlington, the best bred person in the royal court, was allied to the monarch as father-in-law to the king's son, by Lady Castlemaine. The able but artful and rapacious Culpepper was one of the Lord's Commissioners for trade and plantations.† The Virginians grew so impatient under these multiplied grievances, that a revolt was near bursting forth in 1674, but it was suppressed by the advice "of some discreet persons." This movement, however, was not without effect; the justices of the peace were ordered to levy no more taxes for their own emolument.‡ [1675.] The Indian savages having renewed their bloody incursions upon the frontier, war was declared against them, five hundred men, under Sir Henry Chicheley, ordered to march to the frontier, and eight forts to be garrisoned.§ The march of the troops was, however, countermanded by the governor, but upon what sufficient grounds he never could explain. The danger now became so wide-spread and imminent, that all persons were required to go armed to church, and court, and days of fasting and humiliation were appointed. The people now urgently petitioned the Governor that they might be permitted to march against the savages and offered to enlist as volunteers at their own expense.|| Sir William rejected their petitions with high displeasure. The minds of the planters were exasperated. The navigation act had reduced the price of tobacco very low, by prohibiting foreign goods from being imported into the colony, unless first landed in England and shipped by Englishmen, in English vessels, and by monopolizing the trade of the colony. The low price of tobacco had driven the planters to seek a violent remedy, by destroying the crop in the fields, called "plant cutting." To secure the trade of Virginia, the English government undertook to establish certain ports of entry and to erect towns, "where nature had said there should be none." The scheme failed;

* Hening, vol. 2, p. 519.

† Bancroft, vol. 2, p. 209.

‡ Ibid. p. 214, and Hening, vol. 1., pp. 315, 316.

§ There was at this period a garrison near the falls of James river, at Captain Byrd's, or a fort opposite at Newlett's or Howlett's, and another near the falls of the Appomattox, at Major General Wood's, "or over against him at one fort or defensible place at *fflects*, of which fort major Peter Jones" was "captain or chiefe commander." Hening, vol. 1, p. 328.

|| Account of Bacon's Rebellion in Virginia Gazette.

yet not without exacerbating the public contents. They were further aggravated by the dividing the colony away among court favorites, by grants covering not only wild lands, but private plantations long settled and improved. To resist these enormities, it was found necessary to appoint, in September of this year, agents to visit England and lay their complaints before the king. Their expenses * were provided for by taxes, that fell heaviest on the poorer class of people. These agents, Francis Morryson, Thomas Ludwell, and Robert Smith, solicited "that Virginia shall no more be transferred in parcels to Individuals, but may remain forever dependent on the crown of England; that the public officers should be obliged to reside within the colony; that no tax shall be laid on the inhabitants, except by the assembly." This petition affords a singular commentary on the panegyrics, recently lavished by these loyal Virginians upon his "most sacred majestie," who repaid their fervid loyalty by an unrelenting system of oppression. Parliament now claimed and exercised the power of taxing both the imports and exports of the colonies, and Virginia deprecated an assumption which, after the lapse of a century, she found it necessary to resist. The act of 25 Car. 11. for better securing the plantation trade, laid duties on the commerce between one colony and another, and the revenue thus derived was absorbed by the officers who collected it. In the midst of these complicated oppressions, the commissioners, smitten with a slavish loyalty, supplicated the king to make Sir William Berkeley governor for life. The people of Virginia, groaning under these accumulated grievances and tortured by so many cruel apprehensions, began to meditate violent measures of relief. Some of the feudal institutions of England—those ancient buttresses of tyranny had no existence here. Principles, proper to the mother country, lost their force in America, and others, conformable to a new position, gradually usurped their place. Men, transplanted to a new hemisphere, changed their sentiments as well as their clime. Thus, even in Virginia, the most Anglican and loyal of the colonies, a spirit of freedom and independence naturally in-

* These included douceurs to be given to courtiers, for without money "it was certain nothing could be effected at the venal court of Charles II." Account in Va. Gazette.

fused itself into the breasts of the planters. An ocean separated them from England and attenuated the terror of a distant sceptre. The supremacy of law being yet not firmly established, especially in the border country, "a wild spirit of justice" had arisen, which was apt to decline into a contempt of authority and licentious insubordination. Added to this, the colony contained some disorderly elements; dissolute adventurers, convicts, male-content Cromwellian soldiers reduced to bondage, victims of civil war ripe for revolt and who found an avenue of hope only in intestine convulsions. A spark only was wanting to kindle these combustible materials. The horrid massacres of former years made the colonists sensitive to alarms and impatient of indifference to their fearful apprehensions. The fatigues, privations and hardships of a pioneer life inspired fortitude; while frequent conflict with a savage foe confirmed courage. The wild magnificence of nature, the fresh luxuriance of a virgin soil, gloomy forests, mighty rivers and hoary mountains—all these could not fail to kindle emotions in the human breast consonant with the spirit of liberty. In fine, disaffection was emboldened by the civil dissensions of England, which now threatened the stability of the throne of the second Charles.

"About the year 1675 [says an old writer] appear'd three prodigies in that country, which, from th' attending disasters, were look'd upon as ominous presages. The one was a large comet every evening for a week or more at South-west; thirty five degrees high, streaming like a horse-taile westwards, untill it reach'd (almost) the horizon and setting towards the North-west. Another was flights of pigeons, in breth nigh a quarter of the mid-hemisphere and of their length was no visible end; whose weights brake down the limbs of large trees whereon these rested at nights of which the fowlers shot abundance and eat 'em; this sight put the old planters under the more portentous apprehensions because the like was seen (as they said) in the year 1640, when th' Indians committed the last massacre, but not after, until that present year 1675. The third strange appearance was swarms of flies, about an inch long and big as the top of a man's little finger, rising out of spigot holes in the earth, which eat the new sprouted

leaves from the tops of the trees, without other harm and in a month left us." *

CHAPTER XXIV.

1675—1676.

Siege of Piscataway; Col. John Washington; Six of the Indians slain; The fort evacuated; The Indians murder the inhabitants of the frontier; Servant and overseer of Nathaniel Bacon, Jr., slain; His indignation; Alarming Condition of the country; The people take up arms in their own defence; Nathaniel Bacon, Jr., chosen leader; His character; He harangues the Insurgents; Solicits a commission of General from Sir William Berkeley; Berkeley proclaims the insurgents rebels and with a party of mounted gentlemen pursues them; The planters of the lower country now revolt; The Forts dismantled; The Rebellion not the result of personal pique or ambition in Bacon; He marches into the wilderness; Massaere of friendly Indians; Bacon returns; Is elected a Burgess; Arrested; Governor Berkeley releases him on his parole; The Assembly meets; Bacon confesses his crimes and sues for pardon; He is restored to his seat in the Council and his friends are released; Nathaniel Bacon, senior; Berkeley issues secret warrants for the arrest of the younger Bacon.

In the year 1675 a hardsman named Robert Hen, together with an Indian, was slain by a party of the tribe of Doegs in the country of Northumberland. † Colonel Mason and Captain Brent, with some militia, pursuing the offenders beyond the frontier of Maryland, slaughtered indiscriminately a number of them and of the Susquehannongs, a friendly tribe. These latter recently driven by the Senecas, a tribe of the five nations ‡ from their own country at the head of the Chesapeake bay, now sought refuge in a fort of the Piscataways, another friendly tribe near the head of the Potomac. This fort was besieged by a thousand militia raised on both sides of that river. They were commanded by Colonel John Washington of Westmoreland county, Virginia,—the great grandfather of George Washington. Col.

* T. M's Account in Kercheval's Hist. of the Valley.

† For the following details see generally T. M's account to be found Kercheval's Hist. of the Valley, p. 22. Hen. vol. 2, p. 341-513 Beverley, B. 1, p. 65. Keith, p. 156. Breviarie and Conclusion, Burk, vol. 2, p. 250. Account of Bacon's Rebellion in Va. Gazette for the year. And 1 Force's Hist. Tracts.

‡ Bancroft, vol. 2, p. 215, et seq. Chalmers' Annals, pp. 332, 335, 348, 350.

John Washington had arrived in the colony about the year 1658. Not long after, being, as has been conjectured, a surveyor, he had made locations of lands, which, however, were set aside, until the Indians, to whom these lands had been assigned, should vacate them. [1667.] He was a member of the house of burgesses.* To return to the siege; six of the Indian chiefs sent out from the fort on a parley were shot down by the militia. The savages now made a desperate resistance, subsisting partly on horses captured from the whites, and at the end of six weeks, seventy-five warriors, with their women and children, pressed by famine, evacuated the fort in the night, marching off by the light of the moon, making the welkin ring with yells of defiance, and putting to death ten of the militia found asleep. The savages making their way by the head waters of the Potomac, Rappahannock, York, and James, murdered such of the inhabitants as they met, to the number of sixty—sacrificing ten ordinary victims for each one of the chiefs that they had lost. They now sent a message to the governor by an English interpreter declaring themselves ready for peace or for war.†

At the falls of the James they had slain a servant of Nathaniel Bacon, Jr., and his overseer, to whom he was much attached.‡ He vowed to avenge their blood. In that period of apprehension and alarm, the more exposed and defenceless families deserting their homes, took shelter in houses of greater numbers and fortified them with palisades and redoubts. Neighbors banding together passed in co-operating parties from plantation to plantation, taking arms with them into the fields where they labored, and post-

ing sentinels to give warning of the insidious foe. No man ventured out of doors unarmed. The Indians, in small parties, stealing with sly glance through the shade of the forest, the noiseless tread of the moccasin scarce stirring a leaf, prowled around like panthers in quest of prey. At length the people at the head of the James and the York, exasperated by the wrongs of a government so vigorous in oppression and so imbecile for defence, and alarmed at the slaughter of their neighbors,—often murdered with circumstances of cruel torture and barbarity,—rose tumultuously in their own defence and chose Nathaniel Bacon, Jr., for their leader. Educated at the inns of Court in England, possessed of a competent fortune, young, bold and ambitious; of an attractive person, fascinating manners, and commanding eloquence, he was the most accomplished gentleman of his age in Virginia. It was now less than three years since his arrival in the colony,* and his genius had already raised him to a seat in the council, and his manners had won for him an extensive popularity. Bacon called to the command, harangued the insurgent planters on the horrors of Indian massacre—the imbecility of the government and all their grievances. He avowed that he accepted the command, only to serve them and the country; for which he was ready to endure the severest trials and encounter the most formidable dangers; and he pledged himself never to lay down his arms until he had executed vengeance on the Indian savages and redressed all the wrongs of his countrymen. His accents found an echo in every breast and the insurgent planters, fired with contagious enthusiasm, vowed unanimous devotion to him. Bacon, thus joined by “many gentlemen of good condition,” mustered in 20 days 500 men.† He now endeavored to obtain from the Governor or a commission of General, with authority to lead out his followers, at their own expense, against the Indians. He then stood so high in the council, that Sir William Berkeley found it imprudent to return a downright refusal, and he concluded to temporize. How-

* Burk, vol. 2, p. 144. See also “An account of our late troubles in Virginia, written in 1676, by Mrs. An. Cotton, of Q. Creek,” p. 3, in Force’s Historical Tracts, vol. I. This curious document was published from the original manuscript in the Richmond Enquirer, of 12th Sept., 1804. T. M.’s account, no less interesting, was republished in the same paper. It may also be found in the Religious and Literary Magazine, edited by Rev. Dr. John H. Rice. The discrepancies between the several relations can hardly be reconciled.

† “Narrative of the Indian and civil wars in Virginia in the year 1675 and 1676,” p. 1 in Force’s Hist. Tracts, vol. I. This account is evidently, in the main, if not altogether, by the same hand with the letter bearing the signature of Mrs. An. Cotton. Several passages are identical. These documents display genius and satirical wit.

‡ Bacon himself resided at Curle’s on the James river. Account in Va. Gazette

* “He settled at Curle’s upon James River in the midst of those people who were the greatest sufferers from the depredations of the Indians and he himself frequently felt the effects of their inroads.”—Acct. in Va. Gazette.

† Acct. in Va. Gazette.

ever, some of the leading men about Sir William fomented the differences between him and Bacon, having "his merits in mistrust as a luminary that threatened to eclipse their rising glories."* The governor's answer was sent by some of his friends, who endeavored to persuade Bacon to disband. But he refused.

Thereupon, the governor, on the 29th of May, issued a proclamation, declaring rebels all who should fail to return † within a certain time, and starting from Middle Plantation, (now Williamsburg,) with a party of mounted gentlemen, followed after Bacon to the falls of James river, but returned without effecting anything. During the Governor's absence, the planters of the lower country rose in open revolt and declared against the frontier forts as a useless and intolerable burthen. The repugnance always displayed in Virginia to them, was probably heightened by a secret apprehension, lest these means of defence might be made use of as the instruments of despotism. To restore quiet the forts were dismantled; the assembly, the odious "Long Parliament" of Virginia, was dissolved, and writs for a new election issued. This revolt in the lower country, with which Bacon had no immediate connection, demonstrates how widely the leaven of rebellion, as it was styled, pervaded the body of the people and how unfounded is the notion, that it was the result of personal pique or ambition in Bacon. Had he never set his foot on the soil of Virginia, there can be little doubt but that a rebellion would have occurred at this time. There was no man in the colony with a brighter prospect before him than Bacon; nor could he have engaged in the popular movement, without a sacrifice of selfish considerations, and imminent risk.‡ The movement was revolu-

* Narrative of the Indian and civil wars, p. 10. This circumstance may recall to mind the conduct of some of the leaders in Virginia, who, a hundred years afterwards, drove Patrick Henry from the army.

† According to "Narrative of the Indian and Civil Wars," p. 10. Bacon, before the murder of his overseer, had been refused the commission and had sworn passionately that upon the next murder he should hear of, he would march against the Indians, "commission or no commission." And when *one* of his own family was butchered, "he got together about seventy or ninety persons, most good housekeepers, well-armed," &c. Burk, vol. 2, p. 161, makes their number "near 600 men," and refers to ancient (M.S.) records.

‡ Burk, vol. 2, p. 160.

tionary,—a miniature prototype of the revolution of 1688, in England, and of 1776, in Virginia itself.

Meanwhile the men of property in Bacon's little army, fearful of a confiscation, deserted their leader and returned to their homes. But Bacon, with fifty-seven men, penetrated into the Indian country, until his provisions were nearly exhausted, without discovering the enemy. At length a tribe of friendly Mannakin Indians were found entrenched within a pallisaded fort. Bacon endeavoring to procure provisions from them was refused, and one of his men being killed by a random shot, suspecting treachery, he stormed the fort, burnt it and the cabins, and with a loss of only three of his party, put to death one hundred and fifty Indians.* It is difficult to credit, and impossible to justify this massacre. Bacon, with his company, now returned home and he was shortly after elected one of the burgesses for the county of Henrico. Brewse or Bruce, his colleague and a captain of the Insurgents, was not less odious to the governor.† Bacon upon his election, going down the James river, with a party of his friends, was met by an armed vessel, ordered on board of her and arrested by Major Howe, high sheriff of Jamestown, ‡ who conveyed him to the gov-

* According to "Narrative of Indian and Civil Wars," p. 11. Bacon blew up their Magazine of arms and gunpowder. See also account in Virginia Gazette.

† It was afterwards charged by the King's commissioners that the malecontents returned freemen (not being freeholders) for burgesses. Breviarie and Conclusion, 2, Burk, p. 251. The charge was well founded.

‡ Beverley, B. 1, p. 71, gives another version: "Matters did not succeed there to Mr. Bacon's satisfaction, wherefore he expressed himself a little too freely. For which, being suspended from the council, he went away again in a huff, with his sloop and followers. The governor filled a long-boat with men and pursued the sloop so close, that colonel Bacon removed into his boat to make more haste. But the governor had sent up by land to the ships at Sandy Point, where he was stopped and sent down again." Keith, p. 158, follows Beverley. The Breviarie and Conclusion, Burk, vol. 2, p. 250, gives still a different account: "At the meeting of the new assembly, Bacon comes down to Jamestown in a sloop and armed men in her; is shot at and forced to fly up the river; is pursued and taken prisoner by Capt. Thomas Gardner and delivered up to the governor."

T. M's account, followed in the text, seems the more probable, since he was a burgess present in Jamestown about the time of Bacon's capture. The account in the Virginia Gazette follows the Breviarie and Conclusion. According to "Narrative of Indian and Civil Wars," Bacon was captured in his own sloop lying at Jamestown.

ernor at that place, by whom he was accosted thus:—

“Mr. Bacon, you had forgot to be a gentleman.”

Bacon. “No, may it please your honour.”

Governor. “Then I'll take your parol,” which he did and gave him his liberty. A number of his companions who had been arrested with him, were still kept in irons.

On the 5th of June, 1676, the new assembly met in the chamber over the general court, and having chosen a speaker, the governor sent for them down and addressed them in a brief abrupt speech on the Indian disturbances, and in allusion to the chiefs who had been slain, exclaimed: “If they had killed my grandfather and my grandmother, my father and mother and all my friends, yet if they had come to treat of peace, they ought to have gone in peace.” After a little interval, he rose again and said: “If there be joy in the presence of the Angels over one sinner that repenteth, there is joy now, for we have a penitent sinner come before us:—call Mr. Bacon.” Bacon now appearing, was compelled upon one knee, at the bar of the house, to confess his crimes and beg pardon of God, the king and governor, in the following words: *

“I, Nathaniel Bacon, Jr., of Henrico county, in Virginia, doe hereby most readily, freely and most humbly acknowledge that I am, and have been guilty of diverse late unlawfull, mutinous and rebellious practices, contrary to my duty to his most sacred majestie's governour and this country, by beating up of drums; raiseing of men in arms; marching with them into severall parts of his most sacred majestic's colony, not only without order and commission, but contrary to the express orders and commands of the Right Hon. Sir William Berkeley, Knt., his majesties most worthy governour and Captain General of Virginia. And I do further acknowledge, that the said honorable governour hath been very favorable to me, by his several reiterated gracious offers of pardon, thereby to reclaime me from the persecution of those my unjust proceedings, (whose noble and generous mercy and clemency I can never sufficiently acknowledge,) and for the resettlement of this whole country in peace

and quietnesse. And I doe hereby, upon my knees, most humbly begg of Almighty God and of his majestie's said governour, that upon this my most harty and unfeigned acknowledgment of my said miscarriages and unwarrantable practices, he will please to grant me his gracious pardon and indemnity, humbly desiring also the honourable councell of state, by whose goodnessse I am also much obleged and the honourable burgesses of the present grand assembly to intercede and mediate with his honour, to grant me such pardon. And I doe hereby promise, upon the word and faith of a christian and of a gentleman, that upon such pardon granted me, as I shall ever acknowledge so great a favour, soe I will alwaies bear true faith and allegiance to his most sacred majestie and demeane myself dutifullly, faithfully and peaceably to the government and the laws of this country, and am most ready and willing to enter into bond of two thousand pounds stirling, and for security thereof, bind my whole estate in Virginia to the country, for my good and quiett behaviour for one whole yeare, from this date, and doe promise and oblige myself to continue my said duty and allegiance at all times afterwards. In testimony of this my free and harty recognition, I have hereunto subscribed my name this ninth day of June, 1676.

NATH. BACON.”

The intercession of the council was as follows: “Wee of his majestie's councell of the State of Virginia, doe hereby desire according to Mr. Bacon's request, the right honourable the governour to grant the said Mr. Bacon his freedom. Dated the 9th of June, 1676.

Phill. Ludwell,	Hen. Chicheley,
James Bray,	Nath'l Bacon,
Wm. Cole,	Thos. Beale,
Ra. Wormeley,	Tho. Ballard,
	Jo. Bridger.”

When Bacon had made his acknowledgment, the governour exclaimed, “God forgive you, I forgive you,” repeating the words thrice. Col. Cole of the council added, “and all that were with him;” “yea,” echoed the governour, “and all that were with him,” for there were then twenty persons or more in irons, who had been arrested in company of Bacon, when he was coming down the

* Hening, vol. 2, pp. 543-544.

river. Sir William Berkeley now starting up from his chair, for the third time, exclaimed, "Mr. Bacon if you will live civilly but till next Quarter court, I'll promise to restore you againe to yo'r place there," (pointing with his hand to Mr. Bacon's seat,) he having been of the council before those troubles, although he had been only a few years in Virginia and having been deposed by the governor's proclamation. However, instead of being obliged to wait till the quarterly court, Bacon was restored to his seat in the council on that very day. Intelligence of it was hailed with joyful acclamations by the people in Jamestown. This took place on Saturday. Bacon was also promised a commission to go out against the Indians, to be delivered him on the Monday following; * but being delayed or disappointed, a few days after, (the assembly being engaged in taking measures against the Indians,) he escaped from Jamestown. He conceived the governor's pretended generosity to be only a lure to keep him out of his seat in the house of burgesses and to quiet the people of the upper country, who were hastening down to Jamestown, to avenge all wrongs done to him or his friends.†

There was in the council at this time one Colonel Nathaniel Bacon, a near relative of Nathaniel Bacon, Jr., who was not yet thirty years of age. The elder Bacon was a wealthy politic old man, childless, and intending to make his name-sake and kinsman his heir. It was by the pressing solicitations of this old gentleman, as was believed, that young Bacon was reluctantly prevailed upon to repeat at the bar of the house the recantation written by the old gentleman. And it was he, as was supposed, who gave timely warning to the young Bacon to flee for his life. Three or four days after his first arrest, many country people from the heads of the rivers, appeared in Jamestown; but finding Bacon restored to his place in the council and his companions at liberty, they returned home satisfied. In a short time, however, the wavering, temporizing old governor seeing all quiet, issued secret warrants to seize him

again, intending probably to raise the militia and prevent a rescue.

CHAPTER XXV.

1676.

Bacon with an armed force enters Jamestown; Extorts a Commission from the Governor; Proceedings of the Assembly; Bacon marches against the Pamunkies. Berkeley summons the Gloucester militia; Bacon counter-marches upon the Governor; He escapes to Accomac; Bacon encamps at Middle Plantation; Calls a Convention; Oath prescribed to be taken by the inhabitants; Sarah Drummond; Giles Bland seizes an armed vessel and sails for Accomac; His capture; Berkley returns and takes possession of Jamestown; Bacon exterminates the Indians on the frontier.

Within three or four days after Bacon's hegira, news reached Jamestown, that he was thirty miles above, on the James river, at the head of four hundred men. Sir William Berkeley now summoned the York train-bands to defend Jamestown. Only one hundred obeyed the summons, and they arrived too late and one half of them were favorable to Bacon. Expresses almost hourly brought intelligence of his approach. In less than four days, at two o'clock, P. M., he marched into Jamestown unresisted, and drew up his force, (now numbering six hundred men,) horse and foot, in battle array on the green, in front of the State-house. In half an hour the drum beat, as was the custom, for the assembly to meet, and in less than thirty minutes, Bacon advanced with a file of fusileers on either hand, near to the corner of the State-house, where he was met by the governor and council. The governor baring his breast, cried out, "here! shoot me,—fore God fair mark, shoot," frequently repeating the words. Bacon replied: "No, may it please yo'r hono'r, we will not hurt a hair of yo'r head, nor of any other man's; we are come for a co'mission to save our lives from th' Indians, which you have so often promised and now we *will* have it before we go." Bacon was walking to and fro between the files of his men, holding his left arm akiinbo, "with outragious postures," and gesticulating violently with his right. Sir William Berkeley was no less agitated. After a few moments he withdrew to his private apartment, at the other end of the State-house,

* Breviarie and Conclusion, Burk, vol. 2, p. 259. Mrs. Ann Cotton's letter. Compare Chalmers' Annals, p. 332-3.

† According to Mrs. Cotton's letter, Bacon obtained leave of absence to visit his wife: "sick as he pretended." But from T. M's account and others this appears to be erroneous.

the members of the council accompanying him. Bacon followed, frequently hurrying his hand from his sword-hilt to his hat and exclaiming, "Damn my bloud, I'le kill govern'r, councill, assembly and all, and then I'le sheath my sword in my own heart's bloud!" It was understood that he had given private orders to his men, that upon the signal of his drawing his sword, they should fire. The fusileers with cocked guns pointed at a window of the assembly-chamber, crowded with faces, repeated in threatening tones, "We *will* have it, we *will* have it"—meaning the commission of General for Bacon. One of the burgesses, waiving his handkerchief, cried out: "You shall have it—you shall have it," when uncloaking their guns they shouldered them and stood still, till Bacon returning, they rejoined the main body. In about an hour after, Bacon re-entered the assembly-chamber and demanded a commission, authorizing him to march out against the Indians. Godwin, the Speaker,* who was a Baconian, remaining silent in the chair, a burgess named Bruce † (or Brewse,) a colleague of Bacon, alone found courage to answer, "twas not in our province or power nor of any other save the king's vice-gerent, our govern'r." Bacon nevertheless still warmly urged his demand, and harangued the body for near half an hour, on the Indian disturbances; the condition of the public revenues; the exorbitant taxes, abuses and corruptions of the administration, and all the grievances of their miserable country. Having concluded and finding "no other answer, he went away dissatisfied."

The assembly went on to provide for the Indian war, and made Bacon General and Commander-in-chief, which was ratified by the governor. "An act of indemnity was also passed to Bacon and his party for committing this force and a high applausive letter was writ in favor of Bacon's designs and proceedings to the king's majesty, signed by the governor, council and assembly." ‡ Sir William Berkeley at the same time addressed a letter to king Charles II., writing, "I have above 30 years governed the most flourishing country the sun ever shone over, but

am now encompassed with rebellion like waters, in every respect like to that of Massaniello, except their leader."* Some of the burgesses also wrote to his majesty, setting forth the circumstances of the outbreak.

The amnesty extended from the 1st of March to the 25th of June, 1676, and excepted only offences against the law concerning the Indian trade.† The assembly, however, did not restrict itself to measures favorable to Bacon. It adopted a middle ground between him and the governor. On the one hand, Bacon, according to the letter of the law at least, had been guilty of rebellion and he had so acknowledged. Yet he was not more guilty than the majority of the people of the colony, and probably not more so than a majority of the assembly itself. And the popular movement seemed justified by a necessary self-defence and an intolerable accumulation of public grievances. On the other hand, Sir William Berkeley had violated a solemn engagement to grant the commission. Added to these considerations it did not escape the notice of the assembly that the term of ten years, for which Sir William Berkeley had been appointed, had expired, and this circumstance, although it might not be held absolutely to terminate his authority, served at the least to attenuate its weight. The assembly pursued a line of compromise, with a view at once to vindicate the supremacy of law; to heal the wounded pride of the governor; to protect the country; to screen Bacon and his confederates from punishment and to reform the abuses of the government.

It is remarkable that the resolutions instructing the Virginia delegates in congress to declare the colonies free and independent, were passed in June, 1776, and that the assembly, under Bacon's influence, met in June, 1676.‡

The first act of the session declared war against the Indians,—ordering a levy of one thousand men and authorizing General Ba-

* Massaniello, or Thomas Anclo, a fisherman of Naples, born 1623. Exasperated by the oppressive taxes laid by Austria upon his countrymen, at the head of two thousand and young men, armed with canes, he overthrew the vice-roy; seized upon the supreme power, and after holding it some years, fell by the hands of assassins in 1647. Lemire's Biog. Dictionary.

† Hen., vol. 2, p. 263.

‡ Hening, vol. 2, p. 342.

* 2. Hening, p. 606.

† Brewse, according to Breviarie and Conclusion, in Burk, vol. 2, p. 250. Blayton, according to T. M.

‡ Breviarie and Conclusion. Burk, vol. 2, p. 251.

con to receive volunteers, and if their number proved sufficient, to dispense with the regular force. An act was then passed for the suppressing of tumults; the preamble reciting, that there had "been many unlawful tumults, routs and riotts in divers parts of this country," and that "certain ill-disposed and disaffected people of late gathered and may again gather themselves together by beate of drumme and otherwise, in a most apparent rebellious manner." "The act for regulating of officers and offices" shows how many abuses and how much rapacity had crept into the administration. The democratic spirit of this assembly displayed itself in a law, "enabling freemen to vote for burgesses," and another making the church vestries eligible by the freemen of each parish once in three years. An act for suppressing "ordinaries," or taverns, expresses a sense of the evils of intemperance. Col. Edward Hill and Lieutenant John Stith, of Charles City, were disabled from holding office in that county, for having fomented misunderstandings between the governor and the people of Charles City and Henrico counties, and having been instrumental in levying exorbitant taxes. *

In token of the excitement and suspicion then prevailing in the assembly, it was observed that some of the members wore distinctive badges.

In a few days, however, the assembly was dissolved by the Governor, who seeing how great Bacon's influence was, apprehended only further mischief from their proceedings. A number of the burgesses intending to depart on the morrow, having met in the evening to take leave of each other, General Bacon, as he now came to be styled, entered the room with a handfull of papers and looking around, enquired, "which of these gentlemen shall I interest to write a few words for me?" All present looking aside, being unwilling to interfere, Lawrence Bacon's friend pointing to one of the company, (the author of T. M's account, †) said "that gentleman writes very well," and he, undertaking to excuse himself, Bacon, bowing low, said, "pray sir, do me the honor to write a

line for me," and he consenting, was detained during the whole night filling up commissions obtained from the governor and signed by him. These commissions Bacon filled almost altogether with the names of the regular militia officers of the country, the first men in the colony in fortune, rank and influence.

His vigorous measures at once restored confidence to the planters and they resumed their occupations.* Bacon, at the head of one thousand men, marched against the Pamunkies, killing many and destroying their towns. Meanwhile, the people of Gloucester, the most populous and loyal county, having been disarmed by Bacon, petitioned the governor for protection against the savages. Sir William Berkeley, re-animated by this circumstance, again proclaiming Bacon a rebel and a traitor hastened to Gloucester, and summoning the train-bands of that county and Middlesex, numbering twelve hundred men, proposed to them to pursue and put down the rebel Bacon, when the whole assemblage shouted "Bacon, Bacon, Bacon," and withdrew from the field still repeating the name of that popular leader, and leaving the aged cavalier governor and his attendants to themselves.† Francis Morryson, afterwards one of the king's commissioners, in a letter dated London, Nov. 28, 1677, to Secretary Ludwell says: "I fear when that part of the narrative comes to be read that mentions the Gloucester petitions, your brother may be prejudiced; for there are two or three that will be summoned, will lay the contrivance at your brother's door and Beverley's, but more upon your brother, who they say was the drawer of it. For at the first sight all the lords judged that that was the unhappy accident that made the Indian war recoil into a civil war; for the reason you alledged, that bond and oath were proffered the governor intended not against Bacon but the Indians confirmed the people, that Bacon's commission was good, it never being before disavowed by proclamation but by letters writ to his majesty in commendation of Bacon's acting, copies thereof dispersed among the people." †

* Ib. vol 2. pp. 352-353-356-364.

† I have in vain endeavored to ascertain the name of this person. He appears to have been a planter and a merchant.

* Narrative of Indian and Civil Wars, p. 13.

† T. M's account.

† Burk, vol. 2, p. 268. According to Narrative of Indian and civil wars, p. 14, the people of Gloucester refused to

From the result of this affair of the Gloucester petitions, we may conclude, that either they contained nothing unfavorable to Bacon, or if they did, that they were gotten up by some designing leaders without the consent of the people. And it is certain that now when Bacon's violent proceedings at Jamestown were known, the great body of the people favored his cause and approved his designs.

Meanwhile Bacon, before he reached the head of York river, hearing from Lawrence and Drummond of the Governor's movements, exclaimed, "it vexed him to the heart that while he was hunting wolves which were destroying innocent lambs, the governor and those with him should pursue him in the rear with full cry, and that he was like corn between two mill-stones which would grind him to powder if he didn't look to it." * He marched immediately back against the governor. Sir William Berkeley finding himself abandoned, made his escape with a few friends down York river and across the Chesapeake bay to Accomac on the Eastern shore. Before his flight, however, he again, on the 29th of July, proclaimed Bacon a rebel. Bacon upon reaching Gloucester sent out parties of horse to patrol the country and made prisoners such as were suspected of disaffection to his Indian expedition; releasing on parole those who took an oath to return home and remain quiet. This oath was strict in form but little regarded.

About this time a spy was detected in Bacon's camp. He pretended to be a deserter and had repeatedly changed sides. Being sentenced to death by a court-martial, Bacon declared, "that if any one in the army would speak a word to save him, he should not suffer;" but no one interceding he was put to death. Bacon's clemency won the admira-

march against Bacon, but pledged themselves to defend the governor against him if he should turn against Sir William and his government, which, however, they hoped would never happen.

* Mrs. Cotton's Letter.

+ A vindication of Sir William, afterwards published, says, "Nor is it to be wondered at, that he did not immediately put forth proclamations to undeceive the people; because he had then no means of securing himself nor forces to have maintained such a proclamation by, but he took the first opportunity he could of doing all this when Gloucester county having been plundered by Bacon before his going out against the Indians, made an address," &c. Burk, vol. 2, p. 261.

tion of the army, and this was the only instance of capital punishment under his orders, nor did he plunder any private house.

Bacon having now acquired command of a province of forty-five thousand inhabitants, sate down with his army at Middle Plantation, (now Williamsburg,) and sent out an invitation, signed by himself and four of the council, to all the principal gentlemen of the country, to meet him in a convention, at his head-quarters, to consult how the Indians were to be proceeded against and himself and the army protected against the designs of Sir William Berkeley. * Bacon also put forth a reply to the governor's proclamations. He demands whether those who are entirely devoted to the king and country, can deserve the name of rebels and traitors? In vindication of their loyalty, he points to the peaceable conduct of his soldiers and calls upon the whole country to witness against him, if they can. He reproaches some of the men in power with the meanness of their capacity; others with their ill-gotten wealth. He enquires what arts, sciences, schools of learning or manufactures they had promoted? he justifies his warring against the Indians and inveighs against Sir William Berkeley for siding with them; insisting that the governor had no right to interfere with the fur-trade, since it was a monopoly of the crown and asserting that the governor's factors, on the frontier, trafficked in the blood of their countrymen, by supplying the savages with arms and ammunition contrary to law. He concludes by appealing to the king and parliament.

In compliance with Bacon's invitation, a numerous convention, including many of the principal men of the colony, assembled in August, 1676. In preparing an oath to be administered to the people, the three articles proposed were read by James Minge, clerk of the house of burgesses. 1st, that they should aid General Bacon in the Indian war. 2nd, that they would oppose Sir William Berkeley's endeavors to hinder the same. 3rd, that they would oppose any power sent out from England, till terms were agreed to, granting that the country's complaint should

* Beverley, B. 1, pp. 74-76. Chalmers' Annals, p. 333, Burk, vol. 2, p. 172. Bacon's Proceedings, p. 15, in 1st. Force. T. M. says, "Bacon calls a convention at Middle Plantation, 15 miles from Jamestown."

be heard against Sir William before the king and parliament. A "bloody debate" ensued, especially on this last article,—lasting from noon till midnight. Bacon and some of the principal men supported it, and he protested that without it he should surrender his commission to the assembly.* In this conjuncture, when the scales of self-defence and loyalty seemed in equipoise, "the gunner of York fort" brought sudden news of fresh murders perpetrated by the Indians in Gloucester county, near Carter's creek. Bacon demanded, "how it could be possible that the chief fort in Virginia should be threatened by the Indians?" The gunner replied, "that the governor, on the day before, had conveyed all arms and ammunition out of the fort into his own vessel." This disclosure produced a deep sensation in the convention, and the people now became reconciled to the oath. Among the subscribers on this occasion, were Colonel Ballard, Colonel Beale, Colonel Swan and Squire Bray, all of the council, Colonels Jordan, Smith of Purton, Scarborough, † Miller, Lawrence, and William Drummond. ‡ Writs were issued in his majesty's name for an assembly to meet on the 4th of September. They were signed by the four members of the council. The oath was administered to the people of every rank, except servants. It was as follows:

"Whereas, the country hath raised an army against our common enemy, the Indians, and the same under the command of general Bacon, being upon the point to march forth against the said common enemy, hath been diverted and necessitated to move to the suppressing of forces by evil disposed persons, raised against the said general Bacon, purposely to foment and stir up civil war among us to the ruin of this his majesty's country. And whereas, it is notoriously manifest that Sir William Berkley, knight, governor of the country, assisted, counselled and abetted by those evil disposed persons aforesaid, hath not only commanded, fomen-

ted and stirred up the people to the said civil war, but failing therein hath withdrawn himself to the great astonishment of the people and the unsettlement of the country. And whereas, the said army raised by the country for the causes aforesaid, remain full of dissatisfaction in the middle of the country, expecting attempts from the said governor and the evil counsellors aforesaid. And since no proper means have been found out for the settlement of the distractions and preventing the horrid outrages and murders daily committed in many places of the country by the barbarous enemy; it hath been thought fit by the said general, to call unto him all such sober and discreet gentlemen as the present circumstances of the country will admit, to the Middle Plantation, to consult and advise of re-establishing the peace of the country. So we, the said gentlemen, being this 3rd of August 1676 accordingly met, do advise, resolve, declare and conclude and for ourselves do swear in manner following:

"First. That we will at all times join with the said general Bacon and his army against the common enemy in all points whatsoever. Secondly: That whereas certain persons have lately contrived and designed the raising forces against the said general and the army under his command, thereby to beget a civil war, we will endeavor the discovery and apprehending all and every of those evil-disposed persons and them secure until further order from the general. Thirdly: And whereas it is credibly reported, that the governor hath informed the king's majesty, that the said general and the people of the country in arms under his command, their aiders and abettors are rebellious and removed from their allegiance, and that upon such like information, he the said governor, hath advised and petitioned the king to send forces to reduce them—we do further declare and believe in our consciences that it consists with the welfare of this country and with our allegiance to his most sacred majesty, that we, the inhabitants of Virginia, to the utmost of our power do oppose and suppress all forces whatsoever of that nature, until such time as the king be fully informed of the state of the case, by such person or persons as shall be sent from the said Nathaniel Bacon, in the behalf of the people and the determination thereof be remitted hither. And we do

* According to "Narrative of Indian and Civil Wars," p. 18, Bacon contended single-handed against "a great many counted the wisest in the country." With what interest would we read a report of his speech? But Bacon's eloquence, like Henry's, lives only in tradition.

† This name is spelt *Scarsbrook* in the "Narrative of Indian and Civil Wars," Scarborough was probably the name intended.

‡ He had recently been governor of South Carolina. Bancroft supposes that he was a Presbyterian.

swear that we will him the said general and the army under his command aid and assist accordingly.” *

Drummond advised that Sir William Berkeley should be deposed and Sir Henry Chicheley substituted in his place. His counsel not being approved, “do not make so strange of it,” said Drummond, “for I can show from ancient records that such things have been done in Virginia.” But it was agreed that the governor’s retreat should be taken for an abdication. Sarah Drummond was not less enthusiastic in Bacon’s favor, than her husband. She exclaimed, “The child that is unborn shall have cause to rejoice for the good that will come by the rising of the country.” “Should we overcome the governor,” said Ralph Weldinge, “we must expect a greater power from England that would certainly be our ruin.” Sarah Drummond remembered that England was divided into hostile factions, between the duke of York and the duke of Monmouth. Taking from the ground a small stick and breaking it, she added, “I fear the power of England no more than a broken straw.” Looking for relief from the odious navigation act, she declared, “now we can build ships and like New England trade to any part of the world.”

Bacon also issued proclamations, commanding all men in the land, upon pain of death, to join his standard and upon the arrival of the troops expected from England, to retire into the wilderness and resist the troops expected from England until they should agree to treat of an accommodation of the dispute.

There was a gentleman in Virginia, Giles Bland, only son of John Bland, an eminent London merchant, who was personally known to the king and had a considerable interest at court. As he was sending his son out to Virginia to take possession of the estate of his uncle, Theodorick Bland, † late of the

council, he got him appointed collector-general of the customs. In this capacity he had a right to board any vessel whenever he thought proper. He was a man of talent, courage and a haughty bearing, and having quarrelled with the governor now sided warmly with Bacon. There chanced to be lying in York river a vessel of sixteen guns, commanded by a Captain Laramore. Bland went on board of her with a party of armed men, under pretence of searching for contraband goods and seizing the captain confined him in the cabin. Laramore discovering Bland’s designs, resolved to deceive him in his turn and entered into his measures with such apparent sincerity, that he was restored to the command of his vessel. With her, another vessel of four guns under Captain Carver, and a sloop, Bland now appointed Bacon’s Lieutenant General, sailed with two hundred and fifty men for Accomac. On his passage he captured another vessel; so that he appeared off Accomac with four sail. The governor having not a single vessel to defend himself, was overwhelmed with despair. At this juncture he received a note from Laramore, offering if he would send him some assistance, to deliver Bland with all his men prisoners into his hands. The governor suspicious of Laramore, thought the note only a bait to entrap him; but upon advising with his friend, Colonel Philip Ludwell, he counselled him to accept Laramore’s offer, as the best alternative now left him, and gallantly undertook to engage in the enterprise at the hazard of his life. Sir William Berkeley consenting, Ludwell with twenty-six men well-armed, appeared at the appointed time alongside of Laramore’s vessel. He was prepared to receive them, and Ludwell boarded her without the loss of a man, and soon after took the other vessels. Bland, Carver and the other chiefs were sent to the governor, and the common men secured on board of the vessels. When Laramore waited on the governor, he clasped him in his arms, called him his deliverer and gave him a large share of his favor. In a few days the brave Carver was hanged on the Accomac Shore. Captain Gardner sailing from James river, now came to the governor’s relief, with his own vessel, the Adam and Eve, and ten or twelve

* Beverley, B. I, p. 74.

† This Theodorick Bland was sometime a merchant at Luars, in Spain, and came over to Virginia in 1654, where, settling at Westover, upon James river, in Charles City county, he died 23rd April, 1671, aged 41 years, and was buried in the chancel of the church which he built and gave, together with ten acres of land, a court-house and prison, for the county and parish. He lies buried in the Westover church-yard between two of his friends, the church having long since fallen down. He was of the king’s council and speaker of the house of burgesses, and was in fortune and understanding inferior to no man of his time in the coun-

try. He married Ann, daughter of Richard Bennet, sometime governor of the colony. Bland Papers, vol. I, p. 148.

sloops, which he had collected upon hearing of Bland's expedition.

Sir William Berkeley, by this unexpected turn of affairs, suddenly raised from the abyss of despair to the pinnacle of hope, resolved to push his success still further. With Laramore's vessel and Gardner's, together with sixteen or seventeen sloops and a motley band of about six hundred men in arms,* the governor returned in triumph to Jamestown, where falling on his knees, he returned thanks to God, and again proclaimed Bacon and his men rebels and traitors. There were now in Jamestown nine hundred Baconians, as they came to be styled, under command of Colonel Hansford, commissioned by Bacon. Berkeley sent in a summons for surrender of the town, with offer of pardon to all except Drummond and Lawrence. Upon this all of them retired to their homes, except Hansford, Lawrence, Drummond and a few others, who made for the head of York river, in quest of Bacon, who had returned to that quarter.

During these events, Bacon was executing his designs against the Indians. As soon as he had despatched Bland to Accomac, he crossed the James river at his own house, at Curle's, and surprising the Appomattox Indians, who lived on both sides of the river of that name, a little below the falls, (now Petersburg,) he burnt their town, killed a large number of the tribe and dispersed the rest.† Thence he traversed the country to the Southward, destroying many towns on the banks of the Nottoway, the Meherrin and the Roanoke. His name had become so formidable, that the Indians fled everywhere before him, and having nothing to subsist upon, save the spontaneous productions of the country, several tribes perished, and they who survived were so reduced as to be never afterwards able to make any firm stand against the whites and gradually became tributary to them.

* According to Mrs. Cotton's Letter, one thousand men.

† History of Bacon's rebellion in Virginia Gazette, for 1769. Burk, vol. 2, p. 176, places this battle or massacre on Bloody Run, near where Richmond now stands. But he refers to no authority and I think had none better than a loose tradition. The Appomattox Indians occupied both sides of the river in question. Now it is altogether improbable, that Indians still inhabited the North Bank of the James, near Curle's. Besides, if they had, it was unnecessary to cross the James before commencing the attack. Curle's was a proper point for crossing with a view of surprising the Indians on the Appomattox.

CHAPTER XXVI.

1676—1677.

Bacon marches back upon Jamestown; Berkley's flight; Jamestown burnt; Bacon dies; Hansford and others executed; Close of the rebellion; Proceedings of the Court Martial; Arrival of an English regiment; The Royal Commissioners; Punishments of the rebels; Berkley recalled; Succeeded by Jeffreys; Berkley's death; The Queen of Pamunkey; Failure of the New Charter.

Bacon having exhausted his provisions had dismissed the greater part of his forces before Lawrence, Drummond, Hansford and the other fugitives from Jamestown joined him. Upon learning the governor's return, Bacon with a force variously estimated at one hundred and fifty, three hundred and eight hundred,* marched back upon Jamestown, leading his Indian captives in triumph before him. He found the town defended by a palisade, running across the neck of the peninsula. Riding along this work, he reconnoitred the governor's position. Then dismounting from his horse, he animated his fatigued men to advance at once, and leading them close to the palisade, sounded a defiance with the trumpet and fired upon the loyalist garrison. The governor remained quiet, hoping that want of provisions would force Bacon to retire; but he supplied his troops from Sir William's seat at Greenspring, three miles distant. He afterwards complained that "his dwelling-house, at Greenspring, was almost ruined; his household goods and others of great value totally plundered, that he had not a bed to lie on; two great beasts, three hundred sheep, seventy horses and mares, all his corn and provisions taken away."† Bacon now adopted a singular stratagem and one hardly compatible with the principles of chivalry. Sending out small parties of horse, he captured the wives of all the principal loyalists then with the governor and among them the lady of Col. Bacon, Sr., madam Bray, madam Page and madam Ballard. One of them was sent into Jamestown to communicate news of their

* Mrs. Ann Cotton says 150, the account in the Virginia Gazette 800, the king's commissioners 300—the last probably nearest the number.

† See "Answer to the objections against Sir William Berkeley," Burk, vol. 2, p. 263.

capture.* Bacon raised by moonlight a circumvallation of trees, earth and brush-wood around the governor's outworks. At day-break next morning the governor's troops being fired upon, made a sortie; but they were driven back, leaving their drum and their dead behind him. Upon the top of the work which he had thrown up and where alone a sally could be made, Bacon exhibited the captive ladies to the view of their husbands and friends in the town and kept them there until he completed his works. He now mounted a small battery of cannon commanding the shipping but not the town. At this conjuncture, such was the cowardice of Sir William's motley crowd of followers, solely intent upon plunder, promised them by "his honour," that although superior in time, place and numbers, to Bacon's force,—yet out of six hundred of them, only twenty gentlemen were found willing to stand by him. And so great was their fear of discovery, that in two or three days after the sortie, they embarked in the night, secretly weighing anchor and dropping silently down the river;—thus retreating before an enemy that for a week had been exposed to far more hardships and privations than themselves. For in this very service it was believed Bacon contracted the disease which carried him off, by lying during a rainy season in the trenches before the town. Sir William carried off with him all the inhabitants of the town and their goods. At dawn of the next day Bacon entered Jamestown without opposition. It being determined that it should be burnt, Lawrence and Drummond, who owned two of the best houses there, set fire to them in the evening with their own hands, and the soldiers following the example, laid in ashes Jamestown with the church and state-house, saying "the rogues shall harbour no more here." Sir William Berkeley and his people beheld the flames from the vessels riding below.†

Bacon now marched to York river, which

* Mrs. Cotton's Letter. See also Col. Ludwell's Letter in Chalmers' Annals, pp. 349-350. "Ravishing of women from their homes and hurrying them about the country in their rude camps, often threatening them with death." According to "Narrative of Indian and Civil Wars," Bacon made use of the ladies only to complete his battery and removed them out of harm's way at the time of the sortie. It is impossible to reconcile the conflicting statements.

† T. M.'s account and Breviarie and Conclusion. Burk, vol. 2, p. 190.

he crossed at Tindall's, (now Gloucester) Point, in order to encounter Col. Brent, who was marching against him from the Potomac with twelve hundred men. But the greater part of his men hearing of Bacon's success, joined his standard, "resolving with the Persians to go and worship the rising sun."* Bacon now called a convention in Gloucester, and administered the oath to the people of that county and began to plan another expedition against the Indians, or, as some report, against Accomac, when he fell sick of a dysentery,† brought on by exposure, and retired to the house of a Mr. Pate, in Gloucester, and lingering some weeks, died.‡ The place of his interment has never been discovered. It was concealed by his friends lest his remains should be insulted by the vindictive Berkeley, in whom old age seems not to have mitigated the fury of the passions. According to one tradition, Bacon's bones were screened from insult by stones being laid on his coffin, by his friend Lawrence, § as was supposed. According to others, it was conjectured that his body had been buried in the bosom of the majestic York.||

Upon Bacon's death he was succeeded by his Lieutenant General Ingram, (whose real name was Johnson,) who had lately arrived in Virginia. Ingram was supported by Wakelet, Langston, and Lawrence and their adherents. They took possession of West Point, at the head of York river, fortified it and made it their place of arms.¶ There is still extant there a ruinous stone-house, which perhaps was occupied by Ingram and his associates. As soon as Berkeley heard of Bacon's death, he sent over Robert Beverley, with a party in a sloop, to York river, where they captured Col. Hansford and some others,

* Mrs. Cotton's Letter.

† The loyalists against whose eulogy the grave afforded no shelter, alleged that Bacon died of a loathsome disease by a visitation of God. This falsehood is disproven by T. M., the history in the Virginia Gazette and by the King's commissioners.

‡ Breviarie and Conclusion, and Beverley, B. 1, p. 77, say that he died at the house of a Dr. Green. Burk, vol. 2, p. 192, says "at the house of a Doctor Pate."

§ T. M.'s account.

|| Account of Bacon's Rebellion in Va. Gazette, 1769.

¶ West Point, originally West's Point, so called by tradition from an early settler of that name, of the family of Lord Delaware. In reference to whom the place was at one time named "the city of Delaware."

at the house of a Col. Reade, where Yorktown now is. Hansford was taken to Accomac, tried and condemned to be hanged. He requested "to be shot like a soldier and not hanged like a dog," but was told, "you die as a rebel and not as a soldier." He was "young, gay and gallant, nursed among the forests of the old Dominion; fond of amusement, not indifferent to pleasure; impatient of restraint, keenly sensitive to honor; fearless of death and passionately fond of the land that gave him birth."* During the short respite allowed him, his soul was serene; he professed penitence for all the sins of his life; but refused to admit what was charged on him as rebellion to be one of them. His last words were, "take notice, I die a loyal subject and a lover of my country." He was the first native of Virginia that perished in this ignominious form, and in America the first martyr to the rights of the people. His execution took place on the 13th of November, 1676.

Captain Wilford, Captain Farloe, with five or six others of less note, suffered in like manner with Hansford. Major Cheesman died in prison, probably from ill usage. The same fate befell several others.

Sir William Berkeley now repaired to York river † and proclaimed a general pardon, excepting certain persons named, especially Lawrence and Drummond. A party of one hundred and twenty despatched by Berkeley to surprise a guard of about thirty men and boys, under Major Whaley, at the house of Col. Bacon, on Queen's creek, were defeated, with the loss of their commander. Major Lawrence Smith, with six hundred men, was likewise defeated by Ingram, at Col. Pate's house. Smith saved himself by flight; his men were all made prisoners. Captain Couset, with a party, was sent against Raines, who headed the insurgents on the South side of James river. Raines was killed and his men captured.

Meanwhile Ingram, Wakelet and their confederates from West Point, foraged on the

estates of the loyalists with impunity and bade defiance to the governor. They defended themselves against the assaults of Ludwell and others, with such resolution and gallantry, that Berkeley, fatigued and exhausted, at length sent by Captain Grantham, a compliant letter to Wakelet, or as some say to Ingram, offering an amnesty, on condition of surrender. This was agreed to and in reward for his submission, Berkeley presented to Wakelet all the Indian plunder at West Point. A court-martial was held on board of a vessel in York river, January 11th, 1676-7, consisting of the Right Honorable Sir William Berkeley, Knt., Governor and Captain General of Virginia. Col. Nathaniel Bacon. Col. William Claiborne. Col. Thomas Ballard. Col. Scouth Littleton. Col. Philip Ludwell. Lieut. Col. John West. Colonel Augustine Warner. Major Lawrence Smith. Major Robert Beverley. Capt. Anthony Armistead. Col. Matthew Kemp. Capt. Daniel Jenifer. Four of the insurgents were condemned by this court. On the 19th of January, Drummond was taken in the Chickahominy swamp, half famished. On the 20th he was brought in a prisoner to Sir William Berkeley, then on board of a vessel at Col. Bacon's, on Queen's creek. The governor upon hearing of Drummond's arrival, immediately went on shore and saluted him with a courtly bow, saying, "Mr. Drummond you are very *unwelcome*; I am more glad to see you than any man in Virginia. Mr. Drummond you shall be hanged in half an hour." Drummond replied, "What your honor pleases." A court-martial was immediately held at the house of James Bray, Esq., whether the prisoner was conveyed in irons. He was stripped and a ring, pledge of domestic love, torn from his finger before conviction; condemned at one o'clock, he was executed on a gibbet at 4. He was a sedate Scotch gentleman of estimable character, who had made himself extremely obnoxious to the hated of the governor, by the lively concern he had always evinced in the public grievances. When afterwards the petition of his widow, Sarah Drummond, depicting the cruel treatment of her husband, was read in the king's council in England, the Lord Chancellor Finch said:—"I know not whether it be lawful to wish a person alive, otherwise I could wish Sir William Berkeley

* Bancroft, vol. 2, p. 229. I have borrowed freely in this passage, as in several others, from this learned historian, who has been at the pains to examine our records so long neglected by Virginians themselves.

† T. M. and Mrs. Cotton. If we may believe the account in the Virginia Gazette, Berkeley sent Col. Ludwell with part of his forces to York river, while he with the rest repaired to Jamestown.

so, to see what could be answered to such barbarity; but he has answered it before this."* January 24th, six other insurgents were condemned to death at Greenspring. John West was banished for seven years and his estate confiscated. Lawrence and four companions disappeared from the frontier, marching through the snow. They preferred to perish in the wilderness rather than share Drummond's fate. Lawrence was educated at Oxford, and for wit, learning and sobriety, was equalled by few. He had been defrauded of a handsome estate by the partiality of Berkeley towards a corrupt favorite. The rebellion, as it was called, was largely attributed to Lawrence. He had openly avowed that he hoped to find means by which not only he should repair his own losses, but see the country relieved from the frowardness, avarice and French despotism of the governor. Lawrence had married a wealthy widow, and kept a large house of public entertainment at Jamestown, which gave him an extensive influence. Nathaniel Bacon, Jr., perhaps lodged there, and the house was searched for him on the morning of his escape.

On the 29th of January, a fleet arrived from England, under command of admiral Sir John Berry, with a regiment of soldiers, commanded by Col. Herbert Jeffreys and Col. Morryson. These three were joined in a commission with Sir William Berkeley to investigate the causes of the late commotions and to restore order. The commissioners were instructed to offer a reward of £300 to any one who would seize Bacon, and pardon to all others who would take the oath of obedience and give security for their good behavior. Freedom was offered to servants and slaves who would aid in suppressing the revolt.† The general court and the assembly having now met, several more of Bacon's adherents were convicted by a civil tribunal

* Morryson's Letter, Burk vol. 2, p. 268. Mrs. Afra Behn celebrated this rebellion in a trag-i-comedy entitled, "the Widow Ranter, or the history of Bacon in Virginia." Dryden honored it with a prologue. The play failed on the stage and was published in 1690. There is a copy of it in the British Museum. It sets historical truth at defiance and is treated with coarse humor and indelicate wit." Grahame's Hist. U. S. vol. 1, p. 124 in note. It is possible that Sarah Drummond may have been intended by the "Widow Ranter."

† Chalmers' Annals, p. 336. The same measure had been before authorized by the Long Parliament and was resorted to a century afterwards by the Earl of Dunmore.

and put to death;—a large part of them were men of competent fortune and fair character. Among these was Giles Bland, whose friends in England, it was reported, had procured his pardon, to be sent over with the fleet. But it availed him nothing. It was whispered that he was executed under private orders sent out from England; the duke of York having sworn, "by God, Bacon and Bland shall die." Bland and Crewes were executed at "Bacon's Trench," near Jamestown; four others at Colonel Reade's, (Yorktown,) Anthony Arnold in chains at West Point. These executions took place in March, 1677.

The commissioners, who assisted in the trials of the prisoners, now proceeded to enquire into the causes of the late distractions.* The insurgents had found powerful friends among the people of England and in parliament. The commissioners disconcerted the excesses of Sir William Berkeley and the loyalists, and invited the planters in every quarter to bring in their grievances without fear.† In their zeal for enquiry they forcibly seized the journals of the assembly. The burgesses, in October, 1677, demanded satisfaction for this indignity in language stigmatized by Charles II. as seditious.‡ The number of persons executed was twenty-two,§ of whom twelve were condemned by Court-Martial. Punishment was carried far beyond the demands even of political necessity. During eight months Virginia had suffered the evils of civil war, devastation, fire, executions, and the loss of one hundred thousand pounds.|| So violent was the effort of nature to throw off the malady of despotism and misrule. In October, Charles II. issued two proclamations, authorizing Berkeley to pardon all except Nathaniel Bacon Jr., and afterwards another proclamation declaring Sir William's of 10th February 1676, not conformable to his instructions, in excepting others from pardon besides Bacon—and abrogating it. Yet the king's commissioners assisted in the condemnation of several of the

* The commissioners sat at Swan's Point.

† See Account in Virginia Gazette. The sympathy of Jeffrey's with the rebellious Virginians was not entirely disinterested, for he was about to succeed Berkeley in his office of Governor.

‡ Chalmers' Introduction, vol. 1., p. 163. Chalmers' Annals, 337-38.

§ The commissioners say twenty-three. See account in Virginia Gazette.

|| Chalmers' Annals, 335.

prisoners. An act of pardon, under the great seal, brought over by Lord Culpepper, was unanimously passed by the assembly in June, 1680, and several persons are excepted in it who were included in Sir William's "bloody bill" of Feb., 1677. *

All the acts of the assembly of June 1676, called "Bacon's Laws," were repealed, as well by the order and proclamation of Charles II., as also by act of the assembly held at Greenspring, Feb. 20, 1677. † This assembly passed an act of indemnity and pardon excepting from its benefits Nathaniel Bacon Jr. and about fifty others, among whom the principal were Carver, Drummond, Lawrence, Bland, Ingram, Wakelet and Sarah Grindon. These were attainted. Minor punishments were inflicted on others; some were compelled to sue for pardon on their knees with a rope about the neck, others fined, disfranchised or banished. These penalties did not meet with the approbation of the people and were in several instances evaded by the connivance of the courts. John Bagwell and Thomas Gordon adjudged to appear at Rappahannock court with halters about their necks, were allowed to appear with small tape. In the same county William Potts instead of a halter wore a Manchester binding. ‡

The assembly in consonance with one of Bacon's laws, declared Indian prisoners slaves and their property lawful prize. An order was made for building a new state-house at Tindall's, now Gloucester point, on York river. But the order was never carried into effect. Many of the acts of this session are exact copies of "Bacon's laws," the titles alone being altered, Sir William Berkeley and the loyalists thus tacitly confessing the abuses and usurpations of which they had been guilty and the merits of acts passed by those whom they had stigmatised and punished as rebels and traitors. §

Berkeley, worn out with agitations to which his age was unequal and in bad health, being recalled by the king, ceased to be governor on the 27th of April, 1677, and returned in the fleet to London, leaving Col. Herbert Jeffreys in his place. || Sir William Berke-

ley died on the 13th of July, in the same year, of a broken heart, * as some relate, without ever seeing the king, having been confined to his chamber from the day of his arrival. Charles II., according to other accounts, expressed his approbation of Sir William's conduct in Virginia and the kindest regard for him, † and even condescended to make inquiry respecting his health. Others again on the contrary report, that the king said of him, "that old fool has hanged more men in that naked country, than I have done for the murder of my father." ‡ Sir William Berkeley was a native of London, and educated at Merton College, Oxford, of which he was afterwards a fellow, and 1629 was made master of arts. [1630.] He made the tour of Europe. He held the place of Governor in Virginia from 1639 to 1651, and from 1659 to 1677—a period of thirty years, a term equalled by no other governor of the colony. [1639.] He published a trag-i-comedy, "The Lost Lady," and 1663, "A Discourse and View of Virginia." He was buried at Twickenham. He left no children. He married the widow of Samuel Stephens. She, after Sir William's death, intermarried with Col. Philip Ludwell, but still retained the title of "Dame (or Lady) Frances Berkeley."

During the session of the assembly in June, 1676, the queen of Pamunkey, a descendant of Opechancanough, was introduced into the room of the committee on Indian affairs. She entered with dignified grace, accompanied by an interpreter and her son, a youth of twenty years. She wore around her head a plait of black and white wampum-peake, § three inches wide, after the manner of a crown, || and was clothed in a mantle of

2 Hening, p. 7. In July, 1675, Lord Culpepper had been appointed Governor-in-chief of Virginia, but he did not arrive in Virginia till the beginning of 1680.

* Chalmers' Introductory, vol. 1, p. 164.

† Beverley, B. I, p. 79.

‡ T. M.'s account. Grahame, vol. 1, pp. 98-105 (Amer. Ed.) eulogizes Berkley and warmly espouses his cause; his estimate of Bacon is proportionally unfavorable. Perhaps in this as in most disputes, the truth lies in the middle.

§ A purple bead of shell drilled.

|| In Howe's Historieal Collections, p. 470, is a notice and engraving of a silver frontal with a coat of arms and inscribed "The Queen of Pamunkey," "Charles the second, King of England, Scotland, France, Ireland, and Virginia," and "Honi soit qui mal y pense." This ornament was purchased from some Indians and preserved at Fredericksburg.

[1708.] Dean Swift in a letter to Governor Hunter railies him about marrying "the Queen of Pamunki." Swift's works, vol. 12.

* Hening, vol. 2, pp. 366-428-429-430-458-461.

† Hening, vol. 2, p. 365.

‡ Hening, vol. 2, p. 557.

§ Ibid, vol. 2, p. 391, in note.

|| Jeffreys was sworn into office on the same day. His commission bore date Nov. 11, 1676. (28 Car. II.) See

dressed deer-skin, with the fur outwards and bordered with a deep fringe from head to foot. Being seated, the chairman asked her, "how many men she would lend the English for guides and allies?" She referred him to her son, who understood English, being the reputed son of an English colonel. But he declining to answer, she burst forth in an impassioned speech of a quarter of an hour's length, often repeating the words, "Totopotomoi chepiack," that is "Totopotomoi dead," referring to her husband, who, with an hundred of his men, fell while fighting under the elder Col. Edward Hill. The chairman, untouched by this appeal, rudely repeated the inquiry how many men she would contribute? Averting her head with a disdainful look she sat silent, till the question being pressed a third time, she replied in a low tone, "six." But when still further importuned, she said "twelve," although she had then one hundred and fifty warriors in her town. She retired silent and displeased.

[1675.] The agents of Virginia had warmly solicited the grant of a new charter and their efforts seemed about to be crowned with success, when the news of Bacon's rebellion furnished the government with a pretext for violating its engagements. By the report of the committee for plantations (adopted by the king in council and twice ordered to be passed into a new charter under the great seal,) it was provided, "that no imposition or taxes shall be laid or imposed upon the inhabitants and proprietors there, but by the common consent of the governor, council and burgesses, as hath been heretofore used," reserving however to parliament the right to lay duties upon commodities shipped from the colony. The news of the rebellion frustrated this scheme; the promised charter slept in the Hamper* office and the one actually sent over was meagre and unsatisfactory.

CHAPTER XXVII.

1677-1700.

Jeffreys succeeded by Sir Henry Chicheley; Culpepper Governor in chief arrives in 1680; His administration; Plant cutting; Persecution of Robert Beverley; Cul-

pepper returns to England; Is displaced; Miscellaneous affairs; The Northern Neck; Statistics; James II.; Lord Effingham Governor; Prisoners taken at Culloden brought to Virginia; Robert Beverley; Agitators of Virginia; Effingham's corruption and tyranny; His departure; Succession of William & Mary; Nicholson Lieut. Governor; His popular arts; Commissary Blair, The College of William & Mary; Andros Governor; His conduct of affairs; Tyranny; Sent prisoner to England; Nicholson again Governor; Williamsburg becomes the Seat of Government.

Jeffreys, successor of Berkeley, effected a treaty of peace with the Indians and held an assembly at Middle Plantation. Regulations were adopted for the Indian trade and fairs appointed for the sale of Indian commodities. But the natives being suspicious of innovations, these provisions shortly became obsolete. Jeffreys dying [December, 1678,] was succeeded by the aged Sir Henry Chicheley appointed deputy governor. Forts were now established at the head of the James, York, Rappahannock and Potomac, for the purpose of overawing the Indians on the frontier. North Carolina and Maryland were prohibited from sending their tobacco to Virginia to be shipped. By this impolitic measure all control over the trade of those provinces was lost.*

[July 8th, 1675.] Thomas Lord Culpepper, baron of Thorsway had been appointed governor in chief of Virginia for life. He was disposed to look upon the office as a sinecure; but being chid in December, 1679, by Charles II. for remaining in England, came over to the colony early in 1680, and was sworn into office May 10th.† He found Virginia tranquil. He brought over several laws ready drawn up in England,—to be passed by the assembly, it being "intended to introduce here the modes of Ireland."‡ His lordship being invested with full powers of pardon, found it easy to obtain from the people whatever he asked. After procuring the enactment of several popular acts, including one of indemnity and oblivion, he managed to have the impost of two shillings on every hogshead of tobacco made perpetual, and instead of being accounted for to the assembly as formerly, to be disposed of as his majesty might think fit. Culpepper contri-

* Beverley, B. 1, p. 80.

† Hening, vol. 2, p. 8. Chalmers' Annals, p. 340.

‡ Chalmers' Introduction, vol. 1, p. 164.

* Hening, vol. 2, p. 531. "Hamper," i. e. Hanaper.

ved to enlarge his salary from one thousand pounds to upwards of two thousand, besides perquisites amounting to eight hundred more. Professing a great concern for the interest of the colony, he proposed to raise the value of silver coin to prevent it from being carried out of Virginia. The assembly having accordingly prepared a bill for the purpose, his lordship insisting that it was the king's prerogative to alter the coin, issued a proclamation to that effect and then producing an order for disbanding the regiment quartered in Virginia, he paid their arrears in the new coin, greatly to his own gain. Yet shortly after, discovering that the altered currency reduced his own perquisites, he restored it to its former value.* In August of the same year, this unscrupulous governor returned to England by way of Boston.†

Virginia now enjoying profound repose, large crops of tobacco were raised and the price fell to a low ebb. [1680.] The discontented of the planters were aggravated by an act "for cohabitation and encouragement of trade and manufacture," restricting vessels to certain prescribed ports, where the government desired to establish towns. This measure obstructed trade, lowered the price of tobacco and engendered a general disaffection. In compliance with the petitions of several counties, Culpepper, who had by the king's order, now returned, called an assembly together [1682.] Two sessions ending in fruitless debates, the malecontents in Gloucester, New Kent and Middlesex, [May, 1682,] proceeded riotously to cut up the tobacco plants in the beds, especially the sweet-scented, which was produced nowhere else. Culpepper prevented further waste by patrols of horse. The ringleaders were arrested and some of them hanged upon a charge of treason. This together with the enactment of a riot-act, making "plant-cutting" high treason, put a stop to the practice.‡ The vengeance of the government fell heavily upon Major Robert Beverley, clerk of the house of burgesses, as the chief instigator of these disturbances. He had incurred the displeasure of the governor and council, by refusing to deliver up to them copies of the legislative

journal, without the permission of the house.* Although Beverley had rendered important services in suppressing Bacon's rebellion and had won the favor of Sir William Berkeley, yet now by his steady adherence to his duty, he drew down upon his head unrelenting persecution. [May, 1682.] he was committed a prisoner on board the ship Duke of York lying in the Rappahannock.† Ralph Wormley, Matthew Kemp and Christopher Wormley were directed to seize the records in Beverley's possession and to break open doors if necessary. Beverley was transferred from the Duke of York to the Concord and a guard set over him. Escaping from the custody of the Sheriff at York, the prisoner was retaken at his house in Middlesex and transported to Northampton on the Eastern Shore. Some months after, he applied for a writ of habeas corpus, which was refused. In a short time, being found at large, he was remanded to Northampton. [1683.] New charges were brought against him: 1st, that he had broken open letters addressed to the Secretary's office: 2nd, that he had made up the journal and inserted his majesty's letter therein notwithstanding it had been first presented at the time of the prorogation: 3rd that in 1682 he had refused to deliver copies of the journal to the Governor and council, saying, "he might not do it without leave of his masters."

Culpepper after staying about a year in Virginia returned to England, leaving his kinsman, Secretary Spencer, President: but thus again quitting the colony in violation of his orders, he was arrested immediately on his arrival. Having received presents from the assembly contrary to his instructions, a jury of Middlesex found that he had forfeited his commission. And his example having shown, that he who acts under independent authority, will seldom obey even reasonable commands, no more governors were appointed for life.‡

Lord Culpepper having it in view to pur-

* Burk, vol. 2, p. 240.

† Hen., vol. 3, p. 510 et seq.

‡ Chalmers' Annals, p. 345 and Introd., vol. 1, p. 165. Beverley B. vol. 1, p. 89 gives a different account. "The next year being 1684 upon the Lord Culpepper refusing to return, Francis Lord Howard of Effingham was sent over Governor."

† Beverley, B. 1, p. 83.

† Bancroft, vol. 2, p. 247.

‡ Chalmers' Annals, vol. 2, pp. 230-15.

chase the property of the Northern Neck, lying between the Rappahannock and the Potomac,—to further his design, had fomented a dispute between the house of burgesses and the council. The quarrel running high, his lordship procured from the king instructions to abolish appeals from the general court to the assembly and transfer them to the crown. Culpepper, however, being a man of a strong judgment made some salutary amendments in the laws. During his time instead of garrisons, rangers were employed in guarding the frontier. He was succeeded by Francis Lord Howard of Effingham. His appointment was the last act of Charles II. in relation to the colony. Effingham was appointed [August, 1683,] commissioned [September 28th,] and arriving in Virginia entered upon the duties of his office [April 15th, 1684.] On the following day the assembly met. It passed acts to prevent plant cutting and to preserve the peace; to supply the inhabitants with arms and ammunition; to repeal the act for encouragement of domestic manufactures; to provide for the better defence of the colony; laying for the first time an impost on liquors imported from other English plantations exempting, however, such as were imported by Virginians for their own use and in their own vessels. The Burgesses, in behalf of the inhabitants of the Northern Neck, prayed the governor to secure them by patent in their titles to their lands which had been invaded by Culpepper's charter. The governor answered that he was expecting a favorable decision on the matter from the king. [May, 1684.] Robert Beverley was found guilty of high misdemeanors, but judgment being respite and the prisoner asking pardon on his bended knees, was released upon giving security for his good behavior. The abject terms in which he now sued for pardon form a singular contrast to the constancy of his former resistance, and it is curious to find the loyal Beverley, the strenuous partisan of Berkeley, now the victim of the tyranny which he had formerly defended. Owing to the incursions of the five nations upon the frontiers of Virginia, it was deemed expedient to treat with them through the Governor of New York. For this purpose the Governor of Virginia, leaving the

administration in the hands of Col. Bacon, of the council, and accompanied by two other councillors, repaired to Albany [July, 1684.] There he met Gov. Dongan, of New York, the agent of Massachusetts, the magistrates of Albany and the chiefs of the warlike Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagoes and Cayugas. The tomahawk was buried, the chain of friendship brightened and the tree of peace planted. *

Culpepper not long after he was displaced, purchased the proprietary title to the Northern Neck, which in the 22nd year of Charles II. had been granted to Henry Earl of St. Albans, John Lord Berkeley, Sir William Morton, and John Trethway. It was assigned to Culpepper in the fourth year of James II. with many privileges, on account of the loyal services of that family, of which the only daughter and heiress married Lord Fairfax, who thus succeeded to that extensive domain.

From a statistical account of Virginia as reported by Culpepper to the committee of the colonies, [December, 1681,] it appears that there were at that time forty-one Burgesses, being two from each of twenty counties and one from Jamestown. The colonial revenue consisted, 1st, of Parish levies, "commonly managed by sly cheating fellows that combine to cheat the public." Second: Public levies raised by act of assembly. Both levies were derived from tithables or working hands, of which there were about 14,000. The cost of collecting this part of the revenue was estimated at not less than 20 per centum. Third: Two shillings per hogshead on tobacco exported, which, together with some tonage duties, amounted £3000 a year. The county courts held three sessions in the year, an appeal lying to the governor and council, and from them in actions of £300 sterling value, to his majesty; in causes of less consequence to the assembly. The ecclesiastical affairs of the colony were subject to the control of the governor who granted probates of wills and had the right of presentation to all livings, the ordinary value of which was £60 per annum, but then, owing to the poverty of the country and the low price of tobacco, not worth half that sum. The number of livings was seventy-

* Bark, vol. 2, p. 282. Bancroft, vol. 2, p. 255.

six. Lord Culpepper adds:—"and the parishes, paying the ministers themselves, have used to claim the right of presentation, (or rather of not paying,) whether the governor will or not, which must not be allowed, and yet must be managed with great caution." There was no fort in Virginia defensible against an European enemy, nor any security for ships against a superior sea-force. There were, perhaps, 15,000 * fighting men in the country. "In relation to our neighbors: (says his lordship,) Carolina, I mean the North part of it,) always was and is the sink of America, the refuge of our renegadoes and till in better order dangerous to us. Maryland is now in a ferment and not only troubled with our disease poverty, but in a great danger of falling in pieces." The colony of Virginia was at peace with the Indians, but long experience had taught in regard to that treacherous race, that when there was the least suspicion then was there the greatest danger. But the most ruinous evil that afflicted the colony was the extreme low price of the sole commodity, tobacco. "For the market is overstocked and every crop overstocks it more. Our thriving is our undoing, and our buying of blacks hath extremely contributed thereto by making more tobacco." † The succession of James II. to the throne was proclaimed in the Ancient Dominion "with extraordinary joy." The enthusiasm of loyalty was, however, soon lowered, for the first parliament of the new reign laid an impost on tobacco. The planters supplicated James in abject terms to suspend the duty imposed on their sole staple. The king refused to comply. Nevertheless, on the reception of the news of the defeat of the Duke of Monmouth, the Virginians sent a congratulatory address to the king. A number of the prisoners taken with Monmouth and who had escaped the cruelty of Jeffreys were sent to Virginia. James instructed Effingham on this occasion in the following letter. ‡

"JAMES R.

Right trusty and well-beloved we greet

you well. As it has pleased God to deliver into our hands such of our rebellious subjects as have taken up arms against us, for which traitorous practices some of them have suffered death, according to law, so we have been graciously pleased to extend our mercy to many others by ordering their transportation to several parts of our dominions in America where they are to be kept as servants to the inhabitants of the same; And to the end their punishment may in some measure answer their crimes, we do think fit hereby to signify our pleasure unto you our Governor and council of Virginia that you take all necessary care that such convicted persons as were guilty of the late rebellion that shall arrive within that our Colony whose names are hereunto annexed be kept there and continue to serve their masters for the space of ten years at least. And that they be not permitted in any manner to redeem themselves by money or otherwise until that term be fully expired. And for the better effecting hereof you are to frame and propose a bill to the assembly of that our Colony with such provisions and clauses as shall be requisite for this purpose, to which you our Governor are to give your assent and to transmit the same unto us for our royal confirmation. Wherein expecting a ready compliance, we bid you heartily farewell. Given at our court at Whitehall the 4th of October 1685 in the first year of our reign.

SUNDERLAND."

Virginia however made no law conformable to the requisitions of James. The assembly met again [1st of October, 1685,] and warmly resisting the negative power claimed by the governor, was prorogued. It met again [6th of November.] Robert Beverley was again clerk. Strong resolutions complaining of the tyranny of the governor were passed. He negatived them, and shortly after appearing suddenly in the House, prorogued it again to the 20th of October, 1686. James II., strongly resenting these democratical proceedings of the Virginia assembly, ordered their dissolution, and that Robert Beverley should be disfranchised and prosecuted * and directed that in future the ap-

* The number of tithables being only 14,000, his lordship must have overrated the number of fighting men. The actual number of half-armed train-bands in 1680 was 8,568. Chalmers' Annals, 357.

† Ib. 355-57.

‡ Chalmers' Annals, 358.

* Hening, vol. 3, pp. 40-41. Francis Page was accordingly appointed clerk by the governor, [April 25th, 1688.] See also Hening, vol. 3, p. 545.

pointment of the clerk of the house of burgesses should be made by the governor. Several persons were punished about this time for seditious and treasonable conduct. [12th of May, 1687,] the assembly was dissolved. In the Spring of 1687, Robert Beverley died the victim of tyranny and martyr of constitutional liberty. Long a distinguished loyalist, he lived to become still more distinguished as a patriot. It is thus that in human inconsistency extremes meet.

The English merchants engaged in the tobacco-trade, in August 1687 complained to the committee of the colonies of the mischiefs consequent upon the exportation of tobacco in bulk. The committee advised the assembly of Virginia to prohibit this practice. The assembly refused compliance, but the regulation was subsequently established by parliament. During this year a meditated insurrection of the blacks was discovered in the Northern Neck, just in time to prevent its explosion. [November 10th, 1687,] A message had been received from the governor of New York, communicating the king's instructions to him, to build forts for the defence of that colony, and the king's desire that Virginia should contribute to that object, as being for the common defence of the colonies. This project of James II., it was suspected, originated in his own proprietary interest in New York. The Virginians replied that the Indians might invade Virginia without passing within a hundred miles of those forts, and the contribution was refused.

James II. was now incorrigibly bent upon introducing absolute despotism and popery into England. In Virginia the council displayed an abject servility. Upon the dissolution of the assembly, Virginia was agitated with apprehension and alarm. Rumors were circulated of terrible plots, now of the papists, then of the Indians. The county of Stafford was inflamed by the bold harangues of John Waugh, a preacher of the established church. Three councillors were despatched to allay the commotions. Part of Rappahannock county was in arms. Col. John Scarborough of the Eastern Shore was prosecuted, for saying to the governor, that "his majesty, king James, would wear out the church of England; for that when there were any vacant offices, he supplied them

with men of a different persuasion." Scarborough however was discharged by the council. Others were prosecuted and imprisoned and James Collins put in irons for treasonable words against the king.

Effingham no less avaricious and unscrupulous than his predecessor Culpepper, by his extortions, usurpations and tyranny aroused a general spirit of disgust and indignation. He prorogued and dissolved the assembly: he erected a new court of chancery, making himself a petty Lord Chancellor; he multiplied fees and stooped to share them with the clerks, and silenced the victims of his extortions by arbitrary imprisonment. At length the complaints of Virginia having reached England, Effingham embarked, [1688,] for that country, and the assembly despatched Col. Ludwell to lay their grievances before the government. Before they reached the mother country however, the Revolution had taken place and James II. had ceased to reign.*

James II. closed a short and inglorious reign by abdicating the crown. William and Mary had been several months seated on the throne before they were proclaimed in Virginia. The delay was owing to re-iterated pledges of fealty made by the council to James and from an apprehension that he might be restored to the kingdom. At length in compliance with repeated commands of the privy council, William III. and Mary were proclaimed Lord and Lady of Virginia, [April, 1689.] This glorious event dispelled the clouds of discontent and inspired the people of the colony with sincere joy. For about seventy years Virginia had been subject to the house of Stuart and there was little in the retrospect to awaken regret at their downfall. They had cramped trade by monopolies and restrictions; lavished vast bodies of land on their minions; and often entrusted the reins of power to incompetent, corrupt and tyrannical governors. When Lord Howard, of Effingham, returned to England, he had left the administration in the hands of Col. Bacon, president. Upon the accession of William and Mary, England being on the eve of a war with France, the president and council of Virginia were

* Chalmers' Annals, p. 347. Grahame, vol. 2, p. 108. See also Burk, vol. 2, p. 304.

directed by the duke of Shrewsbury to put the colony in a posture of defence.

Col. Philip Ludwell who had been sent out as agent of the colony, to prefer complaints against Lord Howard of Effingham, before the privy council, now at length obtained a decision in some points rather favorable to the colony; but the question of prerogative was determined in favor of the crown, and it was declared that an act of 1680 was revived by the king's disallowing the act of repeal. Bacon's administration was short; he had now attained a very advanced age. In his time the project of a college was renewed, but not carried into effect.*

[1690.] Lord Effingham being still absent from Virginia, on the plea of ill health, Francis Nicholson who had been driven from New York by a popular outbreak, came over as lieutenant governor. He found the colony inflamed with disaffection and ready for revolt. The people were indignant at seeing Effingham still retained in the office of governor-in-chief, believing that Nicholson would become his tool. The revolution in England seemed as yet to be productive of no amendment in the colonial administration. However Nicholson now courted popularity. He instituted athletic games and offered prizes to those who should excel in riding, running, shooting, wrestling and fencing. He proposed the establishment of a post-office. He recommended the erection of a college; but refused to call an assembly to further the scheme, being under obligations to Effingham, to stave off assemblies as long as possible, for fear of complaints being renewed against his arbitrary administration.† However, Nicholson and the council headed a private subscription and twenty-five hundred pounds were raised, part of this sum being contributed by some London merchants. The new governor made a "progress" through the colony, mingling freely with the people. He carried his indulgence

to the common people so far, as frequently to suffer them to enter the room where he was entertaining company at dinner and diverted himself with their scrambling amongst one another and carrying off the victuals from the table. There is but one step from the courtier to the demagogue.

When Nicholson entered on the duties of governor, Rev. James Blair, newly appointed commissary for Va., assumed the supervision of the churches in the colony. The same functions had been previously discharged by the Rev. Mr. Temple, but he was not regularly commissioned. When the assembly met, [1691,] they entered heartily into the scheme of a college. Blair was despatched with an address to their majesties, William and Mary, soliciting a charter for the college. Their majesties not only granted the charter, but gave the college two thousand pounds,* besides endowing it with twenty thousand acres of land, the patronage of the office of surveyor general, together with the revenue arising from a duty of one penny a pound on all tobacco exported from Virginia and Maryland to the other plantations. The college was also allowed to return a burgess to the assembly. The assembly afterwards added a duty on skins and furs. Dr. Blair was the first president of the college.†

[1692.] The office of treasurer was crea-

* "Seymour, the English Attorney General, having received the royal commands, to prepare the charter of the college, which was to be accompanied with a grant of £2,000, remonstrated against this liberality, urging that the nation was engaged in an expensive war, that the money was wanted for better purposes and that he did not see the slightest occasion for a college in Virginia. Blair, (the Commissary for the Bishop of London in Virginia,) represented to him, that its intention was to educate and qualify young men to be ministers of the gospel and begged Mr. Attorney would consider that the people of Virginia had souls to be saved as well as the people of England. 'Souls! (said he) damn your souls!—make tobacco.' Franklin's Correspondence, cited by Grahame's Hist. U. S. vol. 1, p. 109, in note.

† The plan of the College was the composition of Sir Christopher Wren. "There was a commencement at William and Mary College in the year 1700, at which there was a great concourse of people; several planters came thither in their coaches and several in sloops, from New York, Pennsylvania and Maryland; it being a new thing in America to hear graduates perform their academical exercises. The Indians themselves had the curiosity to come to Williamsburg on this occasion; and the whole country rejoiced as if they had some relish of learning."—Oldmixon. Fifty-eight years before, there had been celebrated a commencement at Harvard, in Massachusetts. See Grahame, vol. 2, p. 5, in note.

* Beverley, B. 1, p. 91. President Bacon resided in York county. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Richard Kingsmill, Esq., of James City county. Leaving no children, by his will, he gave his estates to his niece, Abigail Burwell,—his riding-horse, Watt, to Lady Berkley, at that time wife of Col. Philip Ludwell. President Bacon died March 16th, 1692, in his 73rd year, and lies buried on King's Creek. See communication in Farmers' Register, vol. for 1839, pp. 407-408, citing James City Records.

† Beverley, B. 1, p. 92.

ted in Virginia and Colonel Edward Hill received the first appointment to it.

In this year Nicholson was succeeded by Sir Edmund Andros, whose high-handed course had rendered him so odious to the people of New England that they had lately imprisoned him. He was nevertheless kindly received by Virginia, whose solicitations to king William for warlike stores, had been successfully promoted by him. But he soon gave offence by an order to hire vessels to cruise against illegal traders. However the assembly yielded to his importunities five hundred pounds in aid of New York. Four companies of rangers protected the frontiers; while English frigates guarded the coast. The colony enjoyed long repose. Andros took singular pains in arranging and preserving the public records, and when, [1698,] the state-house was burnt, he caused the papers that survived the fire, to be arranged with more exactness than before. He ordered all the English Statutes to be law in Virginia. This preposterous rule gave great dissatisfaction. He was a patron of manufactures; but the acts for establishing fulling-mills were rejected by the board of trade. He encouraged the culture of cotton; which however fell into disuse. At length his corruption and tyranny so provoked the Virginians, that they sent him a prisoner to England, with heavy charges against him.

[November, 1698.] Nicholson was transferred from Maryland, where his administration was judicious, to be again governor of Virginia. He entertained a plan of confederating the colonies and aspired to become himself the viceroy of the contemplated Union. Finding himself thwarted in these projects, his conduct was self-willed and overbearing. In a memorial sent to England, he stated that tobacco bore so low a price as not to yield clothes to the planters; yet in the same paper advised parliament to prohibit the plantations from making their own clothing; in other words, proposing that they should be left to go naked.* For the sake of a healthier situation, he removed the seat of government from Jamestown, now containing only three or four good inhabited houses, to Middle Plantation, so called from its lying midway between

James and York rivers. Here he projected a large town, laying out the streets in the form of a W and M in honor of William and Mary. This plan was however afterwards abandoned. The new capital was called Williamsburg after the king.* Nicholson also built the capitol at one end of the Duke of Gloucester street; the college being at the opposite end.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

1700—1723.

Nicholson's tyrannical conduct; Capture of a Piratical vessel; William III. dies and is succeeded by Anne; Nicholson's complaints against the colony; He is recalled; Settlement of Huguenots in Virginia; The Church; Edward Nott Governor; Succeeded by Jennings; Hunter; Alexander Spotswood Lieut. Governor; His early history; Dissolves the Assembly; Assists North Carolina; Rigid economy of Virginia; The Church establishment; Spotswood's tramontane expedition; Condition of Virginia at the accession of George I.; Spotswood's alterations with the legislature; Theach the Pirate; Complaints against Spotswood; Harmony restored; Spotswood displaced; His character.

If we are to credit the accounts of a contemporary writer, Beverley, Nicholson declared openly to the lower order of people: "that the gentlemen imposed upon them;—that the servants had all been kidnapped and had a lawful action against their masters." [1700.] Mr. Fowler, the king's attorney-general, declaring some piece of service against law, the governor seized him by the collar and swore, "that he knew no laws they had and that his commands should be obeyed without hesitation or reserve." He committed gentlemen who offended him to prison, without any complaint and refused to allow bail, and some of them having intimated to him, that such proceedings were illegal, he replied, "that they had no right at all to the liberties of English subjects, and that he would hang up those that should presume to oppose him, with magna charta about their necks." He often extolled the governments of Fez and Morocco, and at a meeting of the

* Beverley, B. 1, p. 98.

† Hugh Jones' Present State of Virginia.

governors of the college, told them "that he knew how to govern the Moors and would beat them into better manners." At another time he avowed that he knew how to govern the country without assemblies and if they should deny him anything, after he had obtained a standing army, "he would bring them to reason with halters about their necks." His outrages, (says Beverley,) made him jealous, and to prevent complaints being sent to England against him, he intercepted letters, employed spies and even played the eavesdropper himself. He sometimes held inquisitorial courts to find grounds of accusation against such as incurred his displeasure.* Such are the allegations against Nicholson. Yet some allowance may safely be made for prejudice, some for the exaggerations of idle rumor. The accusations have reached us, but not the defence. †

In the second year of Nicholson's administration a piratical vessel was captured within the capes of Virginia. The pirate had taken some merchant vessels in Lynhaven bay. A small vessel happening to witness an engagement between the Corsair and a Merchantman, conveyed intelligence of it to the Shoram, a fifth-rate man-of-war, commanded by Captain Passenger and newly arrived. Nicholson chanced to be at Kiquotan, (Hampton,) sealing up his letters and going on board the Shoram, was present in the engagement that followed. The Shoram by day-break having got in between the capes and the pirate, intercepted her and an action took place, [April 29, 1700,] lasting ten hours, when the pirate surrendered upon condition of being referred to the king's mercy. In this affair

fell Peter Heyman, grandson of Sir Peter Heyman of Summerfield, in the county of Kent, England. Being collector of the customs in the lower district of James River, he volunteered to go on board the Shoram on this occasion, and after behaving with undaunted courage for seven hours, standing on the quarter deck near the governor, was killed by a small shot.

[March, 1702.] William III. died. His manner was cold and reserved, his genius military, his decision inflexible. In his fondness of prerogative power he showed himself the grandson of the first Charles; as the defender of the protestant religion and prince of Orange, he displayed toleration to all except papists. The government of Virginia under him was not materially improved. He was succeeded by Anne, daughter of James II. Louis XIV. having recognized the Pretender as lawful heir to the British crown, Anne, shortly after she succeeded to the throne, [1702,] declared war against France and its ally Spain. Virginia was but little affected by the long conflict that ensued.

Nicholson, in a memorial to the council of trade, described the people of Virginia as numerous, rich and of republican principles, such as ought to be lowered in time;—that then or never was the time to maintain the queen's prerogative and put a stop to those pernicious notions, which were increasing daily, not only in Virginia, but in all her majesty's other governments, and that a frown from her majesty now would do more than an army thereafter. And he insisted on the necessity of a standing army.*

[1701.] Colonel Quarry, surveyor-general of the Customs, wrote to the board of trade that "this malignant humor is not confined to Virginia, formerly the most remarkable for loyalty, but is universally diffused." At length upon complaint of Commissary Blair, and six of the council, Nicholson was recalled, [1705.]

Col. Nicholson, before entering on the government of Virginia had been Lieutenant Governor of New York under Andros, and afterwards at the head of the administration from 1687 to 1689, when he was expelled by a popular tumult. From 1690 to 1692 he was Lieutenant Governor of Virginia. From

* Beverley, B. 1, pp. 97-102.

† Robert Beverley author of a History of Virginia, published the first edition of that work [1705.] His namesake, the persecuted clerk, died [1687.] It is probable that the historian was a relative of the clerk. In the preface to his second edition, published [1722,] he says, "My first business in the world, being, among the public records of my country," &c. In the same year, [1722,] an Abridgment of the Laws of Virginia ascribed to him, was published at London. (See 1. Hening, p. 5.) If the historian was so related to the clerk, it may account in part for his acrimony against Culpepper and Effingham, who had persecuted his namesake and kinsman, and against Nicholson, who was Effingham's deputy. In his second edition, when time had mitigated his animosities, Beverley omitted many of his accusations against these governors. In favor of Nicholson it is to be observed that his administration was more satisfactory in Maryland and in South Carolina. The fault in Virginia was probably not all on his side.

* Beverley, B. 1, p. 104.

1694 to 1699 he held the government of Maryland, where with the zealous assistance of Commissary Bray, he busied himself in establishing episcopacy. Returning to the government of Virginia, he remained till 1705. [1710.] He was appointed General and commander-in-chief of the forces sent against Fort Royal in Acadia which was surrendered to him. [1711.] He headed the land force of another expedition, directed against the French in Canada. The naval force on this occasion was commanded by the imbecile brigadier Hill. The enterprise was corrupt in its purpose, feeble and unfortunate in its conduct, and abortive in its result. This failure was attributable to the mismanagement and inefficiency of the fleet. [1713.] Nicholson was governor of Nova Scotia. Having received the honor of knighthood, Sir Francis Nicholson, [1720,] was appointed governor of South Carolina, where during four years he conducted himself "with a judicious and spirited attention to the public welfare, which proved highly grateful to the inhabitants, and honorably brightened the closing scene of his political life in America. The intriguing politician seemed now to be lost in the eager, busy and ostentatious patron of public improvement, and the distinction which he formerly courted from an enlargement of his authority, he was now contented to derive from a liberal a popular exercise of it. He promoted the establishment of schools and the spread of education, contributing his own time and money in aid of these useful purposes, and he prevailed with the English society for propagating the Gospel, to send a number of clergymen to the province and endow them with liberal salaries in addition to the provincial stipends." He concluded a treaty of peace with the powerful Indian tribe called the Creeks, and by presents and flattering attentions, gained the friendship of the still more powerful Cherokees.* Returning to England, June 1725, he died at London, March 5, 1728. He was "an adept in colonial governments, trained by experience in New York, in Virginia, in Maryland; brave and not penurious, but narrow and irascible; of loose morality, yet a fervent supporter of the church."†

* Grahame, American Edition, vol. 2, p. 330.

† Bancroft, vol. 2, p. 82.

Upon the revocation of the edict of Nantes, by Lewis XIV., [1685,] more than half a million of French protestants, called Huguenots, fled from the jaws of persecution to foreign countries. About forty thousand sought refuge in England. [1690.] King William III., sent over a number of them to Virginia, and lands were allotted to them on James River. During the year 1699, another body of them came over, conducted by their clergyman Philippe de Richebourg.* Others followed in succeeding years. The larger part of them settled at Manakin, (Monacan,) town, on the South bank of the James, about twenty miles above the falls, on rich lands, formerly occupied by the Monacan Indians. * The rest dispersed themselves over the country;—some on the James, some on the Rappahannock. The settlement at Manakin town was erected into the parish of King William in the county of Henrico and exempted from taxation for many years.† The refugees received from the king and the assembly large donations of money and provisions and found in Col. William Byrd, of Westover, a generous benefactor. Each settler was allowed a stripe of land running back from the river to the foot of the hill. Here they raised cattle; undertook to domesticate the buffalo; manufactured cloth and made claret wine from wild grapes. Their settlement extended about four miles along the river. In the centre they built a church. They conducted their worship after the German manner, and the surrounding woods echoed their melodious hymns. They repeated family worship three times a day. Manakin town was then on the frontier and there was no other settlement nearer than the falls; yet the Indians never molested these pious refugees. There was no mill nearer than the mouth of Falling Creek, ‡ twenty miles distant, and the Huguenots having no horses, were obliged to carry their corn on their backs to the mill. Many amiable and respectable families of Virginia are descended from these Huguenots, among them the Maurys, Fountaines, Dupuys, Lacy's, Munsfords, Flournoys, Duvalls, Guerants, Bon-

* Martin's History of North Carolina, p. 232 and Hawk's, p. 78, et seq. Grahame, American Edition, vol. 2, p. 383. Hodge's History of the Presbyterian Church, Part 1, p. 51.

† Henning, vol. 3, p. 201.

‡ Which empties into the James about 3 miles below the falls of that river.

durants and Trents. [1702.] There were twenty-nine counties in Virginia and forty-nine parishes; of which thirty-four were supplied with ministers, fifteen vacant. In each parish was a church of timber, brick or stone; in the larger parishes one or two chapels of ease; so that the whole number of places of worship for a population of 60,000 was about 70. In every parish a dwelling-house was provided for the minister, with a glebe of 250 acres of land and sometimes a few negroes or a small stock of cattle. The salary of 16,000 pounds of tobacco was in ordinary quality equivalent to £80; in sweet-scented to £160. It required the labor of twelve negroes to produce this amount. There were in Eastern Virginia three Quaker congregations, and as many Presbyterian. *

[1699.] A penalty of five shillings was imposed on such persons as should not attend

* Two in Accomac under the care of Rev. Francis Makemie—the other on Elizabeth river. “It seems from Commissary Blair’s report on the state of the church in Virginia, that it existed before the commencement of the last century. From the fact of Mr. Makemie’s directing in his will that his dwelling-house and lot on Elizabeth river should be sold, it has been inferred that he had resided there before he moved to the opposite side of the Chesapeake, and that the church in question was gathered by him. If so, it must have been formed before 1690; for at that time Mr. Makemie was residing on the Eastern Shore. Others have supposed that the congregation was composed of a small company of Scotch emigrants, whose descendants are still to be found in the neighbourhood of Norfolk.” [1710.] In a letter written by the Presbytery of Philadelphia to that of Dublin, it is said, “In all Virginia we have one small congregation on Elizabeth river, and some few families favoring our way in Rappahannock and York.” [1712.] Rev. John Macky was the pastor of the Elizabeth river congregation. Hodge’s History of the Presbyterian church, Part 1st, pp. 76-77.

“The Rev. Francis Makemie, who is often spoken of as the father of our church, was settled in Accomac county, Virginia, anterior to the year 1690, when his name first appears upon the county records. According to some accounts, he was a native of Scotland; according to Mr. Spence, of the North of Ireland. Mr. Spence thinks that he was ordained by the Presbytery of Donegal. It is certain, however, that he came to this country an ordained minister and was “in principle and upon conviction a thorough Presbyterian.” He is represented as having been “a venerable and imposing character, distinguished for piety, learning and much steady resolution and perseverance.” His successful labors on the Eastern Shore of Maryland, his imprisonment in New York for preaching in that city, and his able defence upon his trial, are familiarly known to the public. He died in 1708, leaving a large estate.” Ibid, pp. 88-89. “Makemie’s Tryal,” may be seen in 4 Force. Makemie, at the time of his trial, was a resident of Accomac, in Virginia. The “Tryal,” p. 50, contains a copy of a license to preach “at his own house at Accomack-town and his dwelling-house at Pocamock.” This license was procured October 10th 1699 from the county court of Accomac.

the parish church once in two months. Dissenters qualified according to the Toleration Act of the first year of William and Mary, were exempted from this penalty, provided they should attend “at any congregation or place of religious worship permitted and allowed by the said act of Parliament once in two months.” *

Many of the ministers sent out from England were incompetent; some profligate. Religion slumbered in languor. Altercations between minister and people were not unfrequent. Sometimes an exemplary pastor was removed from mercenary motives, or on account of his faithful discharge of his duties. More frequently the unfit were retained by popular indifference. The clergy in effect, did not enjoy that permanent independency of the people, which properly belongs to a hierarchy. The vestry “thought themselves the parson’s master,” and the clergy deplored the precarious tenure of their livings. The Commissary’s powers were few and limited;—he was but the shadow of a bishop. He could not ordain, nor confirm; he could not depose a minister. Yet the people, most jealous of ecclesiastical tyranny, watched his movements with a vigilant and suspicious eye. The church in Virginia was destitute of an effective discipline. †

[1705.] Appeared the first American newspaper, “The Boston News-Letter.” [August, 1705.] Edward Nott came over to Virginia, lieutenant governor, under George, earl of Orkney, who had been made governor-in-chief. From this time the office of governor-in-chief became a pensionary sinecure, enjoyed by one residing in England and who out of a salary of two thousand pounds a year, received twelve hundred. The Earl of Orkney enjoyed this revenue for forty years.

* 3 Hening, p. 171. The following is Hening’s note on this law:—“This is the first notice taken by the laws of Virginia of the *toleration* act, as it is called in England, of 1. William and Mary. It is surely an abuse of terms, to call a law a *toleration-act*, which imposes a religious test on the conscience, in order to avoid the penalties of another law equally violating every principle of religious freedom. The provisions of this act may be seen in the 4th volume of Blackstone’s *Commentaries*, page 53. Nothing could be more intolerant than to impose the penalties by this act prescribed for not repairing to church, and then to hold out the idea of exemption, by a compliance with the provisions of such a law as the Statute of 1. William and Mary, adopted by a mere *general reference*—when not one person in a thousand could possibly know its contents.”

† Hawks, chap. 5. Beverley, B. 4, p. 26.

Nott was a mild, benevolent man, but did not survive long enough to realize what the people hoped from his administration. In the fall, after his arrival, he called an assembly, which at length concluded a general revision of the laws that had been long in hand. Some salutary acts went into operation, but those relating to the church and clergy proving unacceptable to the Commissary, as encroaching on the sacred confines of prerogative, were suspended by the governor and thus fell through. Nott procured the passage of an act providing for the building of a palace for the governor. This assembly passed a new act for the establishment of Ports and Towns; "grounding it only upon encouragements according to her majesty's letter," but the Virginia merchants of England complaining against it, this act also failed. In the first year of Nott's administration, the college of William and Mary was burnt down. He died [August, 1706.]

His successor, Edward Jennings, president of the council, was a man of strong passions, but singular integrity. His zeal for the church and the crown was excessive. He evinced a contempt for wealth and performed many generous acts; which however his enemies attributed to vanity. During his time, excepting an alarm from French privateers hovering on the coast, quiet reigned in Virginia.

[1708.] Robert Hunter, a scholar and wit, friend of Addison and Swift, was appointed lieutenant governor of Virginia; but was captured on the voyage by the French. [1710.] He became governor of New York and the Jerseys.

[1710.] Colonel Alexander Spotswood was sent over as lieutenant governor under the Earl of Orkney.* Colonel Spotswood was born at Tangier, in Africa, on board of a man-of-war, his father being a commander in the British navy. Alexander Spotswood was bred in the army from his childhood. Blending genius with industry, he seldom failed in any of his undertakings. He served with distinction under the duke of Marlborough, † and was dangerously wounded in the breast at the battle of Blenheim. ‡

Spotswood was received with acclamations in Virginia, because he brought with him the right of Habeas Corpus, a right guaranteed to every Englishman by Magna Charta, but hitherto denied to Virginians. [1711.] The new governor wrote to England:—"This government is in perfect peace and tranquility, under a due obedience to the royal authority and a gentlemanly conformity to the church of England." * Shortly after, however, upon a threat of a French invasion, the assembly would only agree to raise twenty thousand pounds by taxes laid chiefly on British manufactures. The governor declined this proffer. The assembly, however, appropriated two thousand pounds for completing the governor's palace. Spotswood finding that nothing further could be obtained, dissolved the assembly and in anticipation of an Indian war, was obliged to solicit stores from England. [1712.] However the assembly made liberal appropriations to discharge the public debt and in aid of the Carolinas. And Spotswood was now enabled to repel the Indians from the frontier and reduce the surrounding tribes to subjection. Anarchy prevailing in North Carolina, the assistance of the governor of Virginia was invoked. He sent a mediator to endeavor to reconcile the contending factions. But his efforts having proved unavailing, and another express arriving to solicit his aid, Spotswood despatched a land and naval force to that province. Cary, Porter and other ringleaders in the disturbances having escaped to Virginia, were seized by Spotswood, [July, 1711.]

are still in Virginia, in possession of a descendant of the governor, portraits of him and his lady. She it is said was Ann Butler Brain, whose middle name was taken from the Duke of Ormond, her God-father. There is another portrait of Gov. Spotswood at Chelsea, in the county of King William, Virginia, as also of Dolly Spotswood, his younger daughter, who married Captain Nathaniel West Dandridge of the British navy, son of Captain William Dandridge of Elson Green. Chelsea was the seat of Bernard Moore, who married Ann Catherine, elder daughter of Gov. Spotswood. The governor's sons were John and Robert. John married Mary Dandridge. Their children were General Alexander Spotswood and Major John Spotswood of the Revolution. The governor's lady surviving him, married Rev. Mr. Thompson of Culpepper county, from whom was descended the late Commodore Thompson of the U. S. Navy. See a curious letter from Rev. Mr. Thompson to lady Spotswood, in Hist. of St. George's Parish, pp. 55-57. Robert, younger son of Governor Spotswood, a Captain under Washington, detached with a scouting party from Fort Cumberland, in May 1757, was killed by the Indians. 2 Washington's Writings, pp. 239-252.

* Bancroft, vol. 3, p. 29.

* Chalmers' Introduction, vol. I, p. 394, and Keith, p. 173.

† "He was in the habit of shewing to his guests a four-pound ball that struck his coat." Burk, vol. 3, p. 102, in note.

‡ It is in allusion to this that Blenheim castle is represented in the back-ground of Spotswood's portrait. There

and sent prisoners to England. In the Tuscarora war, he again lent his aid to North Carolina. Blending vigor with humanity, he taught those ferocious tribes, that while he could chastise their insolence, he commiserated their fate, and thus concluded a satisfactory peace. *

Some Germans settled about this time on the Rapidan, in Essex county. They received from the assembly the same humane treatment that had been shown to the Huguenots. During eleven years, from 1707 to 1718, while other colonies were burthened with taxation for extrinsic purposes, Virginia steadily adhered to a system of rigid economy, and during that interval 83 pounds of tobacco per poll, was the total sum levied by special acts. The Virginians put themselves "upon a nice inquiry into the circumstances of the government." "The assembly concluded itself entitled to all the rights and privileges of an English parliament."

The act of 1642, establishing the church in Virginia, reserved the right of presentation to the parish. The license of the bishop of London and the recommendation of the governor availed but little against the popular will. Republicanism was finding its way even into the church; vestries were growing independent. The parishes sometimes neglected to receive the ministers;—sometimes received but did not present him. The custom was to employ a minister by the year. [1703.] It was decided that the minister was an incumbent for life and could not be displaced by the parish. But the vestries by preventing his induction, excluded him from acquiring a freehold in his living and he might be removed at pleasure. The ministers were not always men who could win the affections of the people, or command their respect. There was a lethargy in the church of England on this head, aggravated by the difficulty of procuring suitable ministers.

* Chalmers' Introduction, vol 1, p 404. Compare Martin's Hist. N. Carolina, vol. 1, pp. 235-241, whose account is very different from that of Chalmers. According to Martin "Governor Spotswood, in a letter to Lord Dartmouth complained of the reluctance he found in the inhabitants of the counties of his government, bordering on Carolina, to march to the relief of Governor Hyde." These counties were chiefly settled by Quakers, who were not only opposed to war, but also to Hyde. From Martin it does not appear certain that any succor was actually received from Virginia. And he mentions Carey alone as apprehended by Spotswood.

The Virginia parishes were so extensive, that parishioners sometimes lived fifty miles from the parish church. The assembly would not increase the taxes by narrowing the bounds of the parishes, even to avoid the dangers of "paganism, atheism or sectaries." "Schism" was indeed threatening "to creep into the church" and to generate "faction in the civil government." *

[1714.] The year in which George I. succeeded to the crown, Spotswood made the first complete discovery of a passage over the Blue Ridge of mountains. † He was accompanied by a volunteer troop of horse. As the flower of Virginia youth wound through the shadowy defiles, the trumpet now for the first time startled the echoes of the mountains, and from their summits Spotswood and his companions beheld with rapture the boundless panorama that suddenly spread itself before them, robed in misty splendor. Spotswood on his return, instituted the Transmontane order and presented each of his companions with a golden horse-shoe with the inscription: "Sic juvat transcendere montes." ‡

At the accession of George I., the popu-

* Bancroft, vol. 3, pp. 27-28. See also Hawks, p. 88.

† Beverley, 2nd Edition, London, 1723, in Preface, says, "I was with the present Governor, [Spotswood.] at the head-spring of both those rivers, [York and Rappahannock] and their fountains are in the highest ridge of mountains." Beverley, as I infer from this extract, accompanied Spotswood in his celebrated Transmontane exploration and gives here the only clue that I have met with for tracing the route of it. Since the preceding was printed, I have met with the following account by the Rev. Hugh Jones, in his Present State of Virginia, as quoted in the History of St. George's Parish, by Rev. Philip Slaughter, p. 53. "Governor Spotswood when he undertook the great discovery of a passage over the mountains attended with a sufficient guard of pioneers and gentlemen with a supply of provisions, passed these mountains and cut his Majesty's name upon a rock upon the highest of them, naming it Mt. George and in complaisance to him the gentlemen called the inounain next to it, Mt. Alexander. For this expedition they were obliged to provide a great quantity of horse-shoes, things seldom used in the Eastern parts of Virginia, where there are no stores. Upon which account the Governor, upon his return presented each of his companions with a golden horse-shoe, some of which I have seen covered with valuable stones, resembling heads of nails with the inscription on one side, 'Sic juvat transcendere montes.' This he instituted to encourage gentlemen to venture backward and make discoveries and settlements, any gentleman being entitled to wear this golden shoe who could prove that he had drank his Majesty's health on Mt. George."

‡ A novel, called "The Knight of the Horse-Shoe," by Dr. William A. Caruthers, derives its name and subject from Spotswood's exploit. The miniature horse-shoe that had belonged to him, (as I have been told by a lady, his great-grand daughter, who had seen it) was small enough to be worn on a watch chain.

lation of Virginia had increased to seventy-two thousand whites, and twenty-three thousand blacks. Their number was enlarged by ten thousand Africans imported during this reign. Their condition was a rather rigorous servitude. Virginia and Maryland, the two tobacco colonies, exceeded in commercial consequence all the other Anglo-American colonies put together. Virginia exchanged her Indian corn, lumber and provisions, for the sugar, rum and wine of the West Indies and the Azores. The number of counties was now twenty-five. The government consisted of the governor, twelve councillors, who mimicked the English House of Lords, and fifty-two burgesses. The revenue of four thousand pounds being inadequate to the public charge, was eking out by three hundred pounds from the royal quit-rents. The militia numbered fifteen thousand. The Virginians "chose such burgesses as had declared their resolution to raise no taxes for any occasion whatsoever." [1715.] They expelled two burgesses for serving without pay; which they termed bribery. At this session Spotswood conceiving the assembly to be actuated only by faction, after five weeks spent in fruitless altercations, dissolved them with harsh and contemptuous expressions, which offended the spirit of the burgesses. He had already wounded the pride of the aspiring council, long the oligarchy of the Old Dominion. Anonymous letters were now continually transmitted to England against him. The board of trade justly reproved him for his offensive language to the burgesses. In other points, Spotswood vindicated himself with vigor and success. When, [1717,] the ancient laws of the colony were revised, the acts of 1663, for preventing the recovery of foreign debts and for prohibiting the assemblage of Quakers, and that of 1676, (one of Bacon's laws,) excluding from office all persons who had not resided three years in the colony, were repealed by the king.

John Theach, or Teach, a pirate, commonly called Blackbeard, [1718,] established his rendezvous at the mouth of Pamlico, in North Carolina. He bribed Eden, the governor of that province, and Knight, secretary of state with gold and enjoyed their protection. Theach surrendered himself with twenty men to his patron, Eden, and took the

oath of allegiance, in order to avail himself of a proclamation of pardon offered by the king. Wasting the fruits of sea-robbery in gambling and debauchery, Blackbeard again embarked in piracy. Having captured and brought in a valuable cargo, the Carolinians gave notice of it to the government of Virginia. Spotswood and the assembly immediately proclaimed a large reward for his apprehension, and Lieutenant Maynard, attached to a ship of war stationed in the Chesapeake bay, was sent with two small vessels and a chosen crew, in quest of him. A bloody action ensued in Pamlico bay, [21st Nov., 1718.] Blackbeard had posted one of his men with a lighted match over the powder-magazine, to prevent a capture, by blowing up his vessel. This order failed to be executed. Blackbeard surrounded by the slain, and bleeding from his wounds, in the act of cocking a pistol, fell on the bloody deck and expired. His surviving followers surrendered. Maynard returned with his prisoners to James River, Blackbeard's head hanging from the bowsprit. The pirates were tried in the Admiralty Court at Williamsburg, [March, 1718.] Thirteen of them were hung. Benjamin Franklin then an apprentice in a printing office, composed a ballad on the death of Theach. *

At length eight members of the council,

* Grahame's Hist. U. S., vol. 3, p. 88, and Franklin's Memoirs. See also "A General History of the Pyrates," published at London, [1726.] and "Lives and Exploits of Banditti and Robbers," by C. Macfarlane. There is, it is said, a place near Hampton, called "Blackbeard's Point," where his head was stuck up in terrorre. Martin in his History of North Carolina, volume 1, pp. 281-285, indirectly exculpates Eden and Knight. "There were men unfriendly to governor Eden and to the judge, [he was then acting Chief Justice,] Tobias Knight, who said that the governor had received sixty hogsheads of sugar as a douceur and the judge twenty; and in order to elude every means of enquiry into the affair, the ship on a suggestion that she was leaky and unseaworthy, was consumed by fire," p. 283. And it is true that Eden and Knight were acquitted of blame by the council, p. 286. In Appendix to the same, volume 1, p. 15, may be seen Knight's defence before the council. It is prevaricating in several points. There was a letter found among Theach's papers, after his death, addressed to him by Knight, dated November 17th, 1717. This letter goes strongly to prove a confederation between the governor, the secretary and the pirate. It concludes thus: "I expect the governor this night or to-morrow, who I believe would be glad likewise to see you before you go. I have not time to add, save my *heartly respects to you and am your real friend and servant.* —T. Knight."

Knight acknowledged that he wrote this letter at the Governor's instance. Why was it, that Eden took no measures to apprehend Blackbeard?

headed by Commissary Blair, complained that Spotswood had infringed the charter, by associating inferior men with them in criminal trials. Blair would have been better employed in those spiritual functions, which properly belonged to him and which he adorned. The government sustained Spotswood. While he exploded the clamors of an arrogant cabal, he lamented to the board of trade, " how much anonymous obloquy had been cast upon his character, in order to accomplish the designs of a party, which by their success in removing other governors, are so far encouraged, that they are resolved no one shall sit easy, who doth not resign his duty, his reason and his honor to the government of their maxims and interests." This bold statement exposes a secret under-current in the colonial administration,—the domineering ambition of the council, *—long the fruitful source of mischiefs to Virginia. It is on this account that many of the accusations against the governors are to be received with caution and many grains of allowance.

[1718.] The assembly refused to pass salutary measures recommended by the governor; attacked his powers by investing the county courts with the appointment of their own clerks and strove to embarrass his administration and to displant him. He displayed ability and moderation in these disputes, and when the assembly had completed their charges, prorogued them. This effervescence of ill humor excited a re-action in favor of Spotswood. In a short time addresses poured in from the clergy, the college, and almost every county, reprobating the factious conduct of the burgesses and expressing the public happiness under an administration which had raised the colony from penury to prosperity. Meantime Col. William Byrd, who had been sent to London, the colonial agent, having failed in his efforts against Spotswood, begged the board of trade "to recommend forgiveness and moderation to both parties." The recommendation of the board, enforced by the advice of Lord Orkney, the governor-in-chief, the Duke of Argyle and other great men who patronized Spotswood, buried these discords in oblivion. Spotswood, the council and the

burgesses, now united harmoniously in promoting the public welfare. Predatory parties of the Six nations were repelled by force and conciliated by presents. The frontier was pushed to the foot of the Blue Ridge and two new piedmont counties, were by the governor's solicitations, exempted for ten years from quit-rents.

Sir Alexander Spotswood urged upon the British government the policy of establishing a chain of posts beyond the Alleghanies, from the lakes to the Mississippi, to restrain the encroachments of the French. But the ministry did not enter into his views and it was not till after the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, that his wise admonitions were heeded and his plans adopted. He also failed in an effort to obtain from the British government compensation for his companions in the western exploration. At length, owing to the intrigues and envious whispers of men far inferior to him in capacity and honesty, Spotswood was displaced [1722,] and succeeded by Hugh Drysdale. An English historian * thus speaks of Spotswood:—"Having reviewed the uninteresting conduct of the frivolous men, who had ruled before him, the historian will dwell with pleasure on the merits of Spotswood. There was an utility in his designs, a vigor in his conduct and an attachment to the true interest of the kingdom and the colony, which merit the greatest praise. Had he attended more to the courtly maxim of Charles II., 'to quarrel with no man, however great might be the provocation; since he knew not how soon he should be obliged to act with him,' that able officer might be recommended as the model of a provincial governor. The fabled heroes who had discovered the uses of the anvil and the axe; who introduced the labors of the plough with the arts of the fisher, have been immortalized as the greatest benefactors of mankind; had Spotswood even invaded the privileges while he only mortified the pride of the Virginians, they ought to have erected a statue to the memory of a ruler, who gave them the manufacture of iron and showed them by his active example, that it is diligence and attention which can alone make a people great."

Spotswood was well skilled in the mathematics. He built the octagon magazine at

* Stith complains of this evil and expresses his apprehensions in a tone delicate indeed yet so firm, as must have been very unpalatable to the body referred to.

* Chalmers in Introduction, vol. 2, p. 78.

Williamsburg and rebuilt the college, which had been burned down and made improvements in the governor's house and gardens. He was an excellent judge on the bench. At his instance a fund was established for instructing Indian children in Christianity, and he erected a school for that purpose on the frontier.* He was the author of an act for improving the staple of tobacco, and making tobacco-notes the medium of ordinary circulation. Being a perfect master of the military art, he kept the militia of Virginia under admirable discipline. The county of Spotsylvania, formed [1720,] was called after him. Here he had founded, previous to 1724, the town of Germanna, so called from some Germans sent over by queen Anne and settled there,† and at this place he resided. Owning an extensive tract of country and finding it abounding in iron ore, he engaged largely in the manufacture of it. He has been styled "the Tubal-Cain of Virginia;" he was indeed the first person who ever established a furnace in North America.‡ [1730.] He was made deputy post-master-general for the colonies, and he held that place until 1739,§ when he was appointed commander-in-chief of the colonial troops, in the expedition fitted out against Cartagena. He died, however, when on the eve of embarking, at Annapolis, [June 7th, 1740.] ||

* "He [Gov. Spotswood,] built a fort called Fort Christanna, not so far back, where I have seen seventy-seven Indian children at school at a time at the governor's sole expense. The children could read and say their catechism and prayers tolerably well. But this pious design being laid aside through opposition of pride and interest, Mr. Griffin was removed to the college, to teach the Indians placed there by the benefactions of Mr. Boyle. The Indians so loved and adored him that I have seen them lift him up in their arms, and they would have chosen him king of the Saponey nation." Hugh Jones' *Present State of Virginia*, cited by Rev. Philip Slaughter, in his *History of St. George's Parish*, p. 53.

† Howe's *Hist. Collections of Virginia*, p. 475. *Hist. of St. George's Parish*, pp. 10-11.

‡ Westover MSS., p. 132. Col. Byrd's account of his visit to Spotswood.

§ It was Spotswood that promoted Benjamin Franklin to the office of postmaster for the Province of Pennsylvania. 2 Grahame, p. 156, *American Edition*.

|| 3 Burk, p. 101. Lempiere's *Biog. Dic.*, Art. Spotswood. From the *Virginia Gazette*.—1739. "Col. Spotswood intending next year to leave Virginia with his family, hereby gives notice that he shall in April next dispose of a quantity of choice household furniture together with a coach, chariot, chaise, coach horses, house slaves, &c. And that the rich lands in Orange county, which he has hitherto reserved for his own seating, he now leases out

CHAPTER XXIX.

1723—1749.

Drysdale Governor; His feeble administration; Succeeded by Gooch; Miscellaneous affairs; Expedition against Cartagena; Lawrence Washington; Virginia troops enlist to succor Oglethorpe in Georgia; The *Virginia Gazette*; Richmond; Scotch-Irish settlers; German settlers; John Lewis a pioneer in Augusta; Borden's Grant; Rencontre with the Shawnees; Treaty of Lancaster; Death and character of William Byrd; Rebellion in favor of the Pretender; Loyalty of Virginia; Miscellaneous incidents; Dissenters in Virginia; Whitefield; Origin of Presbyterianism in Hanover; Morris; Missionaries; Rev. Samuel Davies; Gooch's measures against Moravians, New Lights and Methodists; Gooch resigns; His character; Robinson; Lee; Burwell.

[September, 1723.] Hugh Drysdale assumed the administration of Virginia amidst the tranquil prosperity bequeathed him by his predecessor. Drysdale, a man of weak calibre, yielded to the current of the day, solicitous

for lives, renewable until Christmas 1775, admitting every tenant to the choice of his tenement according to the priority of entry. He further gives notice, that he is ready to treat with any person of good credit, for furling out for 21 years Germanna and its contiguous lands with the stock thereon and some slaves. As also for furling out for the like term of years an extraordinary grist-mill and bolting-mill, lately built by one of the best millwrights in America, and both going by water, taken by a long race out of the Rapidan, together with 600 acres of seated land adjoining to the said mill.

"N. B. The chariot, (which has been looked upon as one of the best made, handsomest and easiest chariots in London,) is to be disposed of at any time, together with some other goods. No one will be received as a tenant who has not the character of an industrious man."

Governor Spotswood left in MS. an historical account of Virginia, in the time of his administration. Mr. Bancroft had access to this MS. and refers to it in his *History*. I have been informed by him, that he esteems it a document of eminent value. After remaining long in the Spotswood family of Virginia, it was communicated by one of that name to a foreign gentleman then in this country, and is, it is said, still in his possession in Europe. It would be a matter of regret for all interested in Virginia history, if such a manuscript should be lost. Rev. Robert Rose, a native of Scotland, came over to Virginia about the same time with Spotswood; according to a tradition among some of his descendants, *with* Spotswood, in capacity of Chaplain. It is said that he afterwards settled near West Point in the county of King William, and finally removed to Albemarle. He kept for many years a Diary, in which he was in the habit of recording many particulars, which would no doubt gratify the curiosity of a reader of the present day. The MS., said to be quite a large volume, is still extant in possession of his descendants on the banks of the Mississippi. Rev. Mr. Rose lies buried in the yard of St. John's church in the city of Richmond.

only to retain his place. In his name an act regulating the importation of convicts was passed but rejected by the Board of Trade. To free the people from a poll-tax, a duty was judiciously laid on the importation of liquors and slaves. But owing to the avaricious opposition of the African company and interested traders, the measure was repealed, as an encroachment on the trade of England. Drysdale congratulated the Duke of Newcastle, "that the benign influence of his auspicious sovereign was conspicuous here in a general harmony and contentment amongst all ranks of persons." * [1727.] Drysdale dying, July 22, 1726, and Col. Jennings next in order of succession being suspended, Col. Robert Carter took upon himself the administration as President of the Council. This gentleman, owing to the ample extent of his landed possessions and to his being Agent of Lord Fairfax, proprietary of a vast territory in the Northern Neck—acquired the sobriquet of "King Carter." He was Speaker of the House of Burgesses for six years, Treasurer of the Colony, and for many years member of the Council. He remained at the head of the government upwards of a year. † [1727.] About the 13th of October, [1727,] William Gooch, who had been an officer in the British army, became governor. The council without authority allowed him three hundred pounds out of the royal quit-rents. He in return resigned in a great measure the helm of government to them. Owing partly to this coalition, partly to a well-established revenue and a rigid economy, Virginia enjoyed prosperous repose during his long administration. [1727.] There was one Presbyterian congregation in

Virginia and preachers from the Philadelphia Synod visited the colony. * An act of Parliament prohibiting the exportation of stripped tobacco was complained of by the planters, as causing a decline of the trade. They undertook, however, to enhance the value of that commodity by improving its quality, and in July 1732, sent Randolph to England to lay their complaint before the crown. Virginia, nevertheless, continued to prosper, and from the year 1700 her population doubled in twenty-five years.

Now for the first time American troops were transported from the colonies to co-operate with the forces of the mother country in offensive war. An attack upon Cartagena being determined on, Gooch raised four hundred men as Virginia's quota and the assembly appropriated five thousand pounds. Gooch commanded the colonial troops in the expedition. It proved unsuccessful. Upon this occasion the amount of Virginia's appropriation exceeding the sum in the treasury, the remainder was borrowed from wealthy men, with a view to avoid the frauds of depreciation and to secure the benefits of circulation. Lawrence Washington, eldest brother of George, served in the rank of Captain at the siege of Cartagena and in the West Indies. An accomplished gentleman, he acquired the esteem and confidence of General Wentworth and admiral Vernon, the commanders of the British forces and after the latter named his seat on the Potomac. Shortly after the failure at Cartagena an express from South Carolina brought tidings that the Spaniards had made a descent upon Georgia. Captain Dandridge, commander of the South-Sea Castle, together with the Snows Hawk and Swift, was despatched to the assistance of General Oglethorpe. The Spaniards were repulsed. Georgia, however, being still threatened by a Spanish force, concentrated at St. Augustine, in Florida, Oglethorpe sent Lieut. Col. Heron to recruit a regiment in Virginia. Captain Lawrence Washington with a number of officers and soldiers of Gooch's Car-

* Chalmers' Introdue., vol. 2, pp. 79-80.

† 4 Hening, p. 7. He lived at Corotoman on the Rappahannock in Lancaster county. Here a church was completed in 1670 under the direction of John Carter, first of that family in Virginia. A fine old church built by Robert Carter on the site of the former one and still in good preservation has been described by Bishop Meade in his interesting account of some of the old churches of Virginia. Robert Carter, (sometimes called Robin,) married first Judith Armistead, second Betty, "a descendant of the noble family of the Landons," by whom he left many children. His portrait and that of one of his wives are preserved at Shirley, on James river, seat of Hill Carter, Esq. The arms of the Carters bear cart wheel s^or^t. John Carter first of the family and one of the Council is mentioned in 1 Hening pp. 432, 514, 515. Edward Carter, Burgess and member of the Council, Ib. 430, 526.

* Chalmers' Introdue., vol. 2, pp. 161-162. As to the early Presbyterians see Hedges' Hist. of the Presbyterian church, part 1, pp. 76-77. Hawks, p. 94. Beverley, B. IV, p. 27. anno 1705, said, "those counties where the Presbyterian Meetings are, produce very mean Tobacco and for that reason can't get an Orthodox Minister to stay amongst them."

thagena regiment lately discharged, just now arriving at Hampton and meeting with Heron, many of them enlisted under him.

[1736.] The first Virginia newspaper, the Virginia Gazette, appeared. It was published by William Parks weekly, at 15 shillings per annum. It was a small sheet, in the interest of the Government, and long the only journal of the colony. Parks printed Stith's History of Virginia and the Laws of Virginia. A printing-press was first established in South Carolina and a newspaper in 1734. [1726.] A printing-press was introduced into Maryland. One had been established at Cambridge in Massachusetts before 1647. [1719.] Two newspapers were issued at Boston, and [1725] one at New York.* [1737.] The town of Richmond was laid off near the falls of James river by Col. William Byrd, who was proprietor of an extensive tract there. Shocco Warehouse had been already established there for a good many years.†

* Grahame, Amer. Ed., vol. 1, pp. 237-393. Vol. 2, pp. 91-99. Howe's Hist. Coll. of Va., p. 331, citing Thomas's Hist. of Printing. [1671.] Sir Wm. Berkley thanked God that there were "no free schools nor printing" in Virginia. 2 Hening, p. 517. "Feby 2, 1682, John Buckner" had been "called before the Lord Culpepper and his Council, for printing the laws of 1680, without his excellency's license and he and the printer ordered to enter into bond in £100 not to print any thing thereafter until his majesty's pleasure should be known." 2 Hening, p. 518. Grahame not adverting to this authority fell into the error of dating the first introduction of the printing press into Virginia in 1729. See his Hist. of U. S., Amer. Ed., vol. 2, p. 91. The first evidence of printing done in Virginia is the edition 1733 of the Revised Laws. 2 Hening, p. 518.

† [1645.] Fort Charles, called after the Prince royal, afterwards Charles I., was established at the Falls of James river. 1 Hening, p. 293. [1679.] A tract of land at the falls, extending five miles in length and three in breadth, and lying on both sides of the river, was claimed by Capt. William Byrd. 2 Hening, pp. 453-454. A large part of this land on the North side had a few years before belonged to Nathaniel Bacon, Jr. Byrd had been active in bringing some of the rebels to punishment. The names Bacon's Quarter and Bacon's Quarter Branch, are still preserved there. [1733.] Col. Byrd made a visit to his plantations on the Roanoke river accompanied by Maj. Mayo, Maj. Munford, Mr. Banister and Mr. Peter Jones. While here, he says, "We laid the foundation of two large cities, one at Shocco's to be called Richmond, and the other at the point of Appomattox, to be called Petersburg. These Major Mayo offered to lay out in lots without fee or reward. The truth of it is, these two places, being the uppermost landing of James and Appomattox rivers, are naturally intended for marts, where the traffick of the outer inhabitants must centre. Thus we did not build castles only but cities in the air." Westover MSS., p. 107.

From the Virginia Gazette, April 1737.

This is to give notice, that on the north side of James

During Elizabeth's reign, the disaffected and turbulent province of Ulster suffered pre-eminently the ravages of civil war. Quieted for a time by the sword, insurrection again burst forth in the second year of the reign of James I. Repeated rebellions crushed [1605] left a large tract of country desolate and fast declining into barbarism. Nearly six counties of Ulster thus, by forfeiture, fell into the hands of the king. James colonized this unhappy district, with emigrants partly English, principally Scotch—one of the few wise and salutary measures of a feeble and inglorious reign. The descendants of these colonists came to be distinguished by the name of Scotch-Irish. The persecutions of the house of Stuart only riveted more closely their attachment of these Presbyterians to their religious and political principles, and Cromwell found in them unbending, indomitable disaffection. It was not however before the Revolution of 1688, that the Scotch-Irish began to emigrate to America. Many of them came over and settled in Pennsylvania. Thence they gradually migrated to the Western parts of Virginia and North Carolina, inhabiting the frontier of civilization and forming a barrier between the red men and the whites of the older settlements.*

After the settlement of Jamestown, a century elapsed before Virginia began to extend herself towards the foot of the Blue Ridge. [1714.] Spotswood had explored these mountains as far as to the sources of the confluents of the York and the Rappahannock. The fertile valley of the Shenandoah first allured some hardy adventurers, and before the year 1738, some pioneer cabins erected near the Shawnee Springs, formed the embryo of the town of Winchester—long the frontier out-post of

river, near the uppermost landing and a little below the falls, is lately laid off by Major Mayo a town called Richmond, with streets sixty-five feet wide in a pleasant and healthy situation and well supplied with springs and good water. It lies near the public warehouse at Shocco's and in the midst of great quantities of grain and all kinds of provisions. The lots will be granted in fee simple, on condition only, of building a house in three years time, of twenty-four by sixteen feet fronting within five feet of the street. The lots to be rated according to the convenience of their situation and to be sold after this April General Court by me,

WILLIAM BYRD.

* Foote's Sketches of North Carolina, chap. 5. Grahame, American Edition, vol. 2, pp. 57-58, in note.

the colony. The population of this region was composed of English from lowland Virginia, Germans, and Scotch-Irish from Pennsylvania. The country bordering the North and South branches of the Shenandoah, was settled by a German population, which retains its language and simplicity of manners at the present day. At length a few bold adventurers, finding their way into the Western portion of the Valley, brought back attractive descriptions of the charms of that country and some pioneers were tempted to plant themselves in that wild, picturesque, remote region. John Lewis, a Huguenot by descent and a native of Ireland, established himself in the forests of Augusta county, near the site of the town of Staunton and on the border of a creek which yet bears his name. Assaulted in his native country by an oppressive landlord and a band of Irish retainers, seeing his wife wounded and a brother slain, Lewis slew the lawless nobleman and found it necessary to escape from Ireland to America. He reached Virginia, accompanied by his family and thirty of his former tenantry. The king of England afterwards granted him a pardon and patents for an extensive tract of Western Virginia. The residence of this fearless pioneer came to be known as Fort Lewis. [1736.] Lewis visiting Williamsburg, met with Benjamin Burden, who had lately come over to Virginia, agent for Lord Fairfax, proprietor of the Northern Neck. Burden accepted Lewis's invitation to visit him at his sequestered home in the backwoods. The visit was occupied in exploring the virgin beauties of the Valley and in hunting. A captured young buffalo was given to Burden, and he on his return presented it to Governor Gooch, who, thus propitiated, authorized him to locate 100,000 acres of land in Augusta. Whether the young buffalo was reckoned a consideration equivalent to the land is left to conjecture. [1737.] Burden to settle his territory brought upwards of 100 families from the North of Ireland, Scotland and the border counties of England. Other colonies emanating from the same quarters, followed and settled that portion of the valley intervening between the German settlements and the borders of the James river. * In

December, 1742, a skirmish occurred in the county of Augusta between a party of the Shawnee Indians and some militia under Colonel Patton. Captain McDowell and seven other militia-men were slain. In 1722 Spotswood had effected a treaty with the Six Nations, by which they stipulated never to appear to the east of the Blue Ridge nor South of the Potomac. As, however, the Anglo-Saxon race gradually extended like a vapor beyond the western base of that range, collisions ensued. July 31, 1743, a treaty of peace was concluded at Lancaster, in Pennsylvania, between Virginia, Maryland and Pennsylvania on the one hand and the Six Nations on the other. The tomahawk was buried; the wampum belts of peace delivered to brighten the silver chain of friendship, and the red men for the consideration of four hundred pounds reluctantly relinquished the country lying westward from the frontier of Virginia to the river Ohio. The expense of this treaty was paid out of the royal quit-rents.

In November 4th of this year, William Fairfax, son of the proprietor of the Northern Neck, was appointed of his majesty's council, in the place of Commissary Blair. About this time died Col. William Byrd, one of the Council. A vast fortune enabled him to live in a style of hospitable splendor before unknown in Virginia, and to indulge a munificent liberality. His extensive learning was improved by a keen observation and refined by an acquaintance and correspondence with the wits and noblemen of his day in England. His writings display a thorough knowledge of the natural and civil history of the colony and contain daguerrotype sketches of the manners of his age. His diffuse style is relieved by humor, which, according to the spirit of his times, is often coarse and indelicate. To him is due the honor of having contributed more perhaps to the preservation of the historical materials of Virginia than any other of her sons.*

* He lies buried in the garden of his seat, Westover, where a marble monument bears the following inscription: "Here lieth the Honorable William Byrd, Esq. Being born to one of the amplest fortunes in this country, he was sent early to England for his education, where under the care and direction of Sir Robert Southwell and ever favoured with his particular instructions, he made a happy proficiency in polite and various learning. By the means of the same noble friend, he was introduced to the acquain-

* Howe's Hist. Coll., pp., 181-451, citing extract from MS. by Rev. Henry Ruffner.

[1744.] France endeavoring to impose a popish pretender of the House of Stuart upon the people of England, the colonies were advised to put themselves in readiness against the threatened blow. Accordingly in the following year the assembly was convened; but still adhering to a rigid economy, the burgesses refused to make any appropriation of money for that purpose. About this period, Edward Trelawney, Governor of Jamaica was authorized to recruit a regiment in Virginia. A rebellion burst forth in Scotland in favor of the pretender Charles James. When the news of it reached Virginia, the assembly was called together. The college, the clergy and the burgesses unanimously pledged their private resources and those of the colony to support the house of Hanover. A proclamation was issued against Romish priests sent, it was alleged, as emissaries from Maryland to seduce the people of Virginia from their allegiance. Intelligence of the overthrow of the pretender at Culloden, [16th of April, 1746,] was joyfully received in the Ancient Dominion and celebrated by effigies of the unfortunate prince, bonfires, processions and illuminations. In May the assembly appropriated four thousand pounds to the raising of Virginia's quota of troops for the invasion of Canada. The troops so raised sailed

from Hampton in June under convoy of the Fowey man-of-war. The expedition proved abortive. Gooch was knighted during this year.

Not long after, the capitol at Williamsburg was burned. The burgesses availed themselves of this conjuncture to propose the establishment of the metropolis at a point more favorable to commerce. This scheme was rejected by the council. Gooch on this occasion displayed duplicity. To the Board of Trade he praised the noble views of the burgesses, while he censured the selfishness of the council; yet in public he blamed the burgesses, "as he thought this the best method to stifle the flame of contention." In this case he seems not to have reckoned "honesty the best policy." Perhaps it was not and is not generally, else there would be more of it in the world.

[1747.] The town of Richmond was established and in the following year Petersburg and Blandford. A committee was appointed to revise the laws; it consisted of Peyton Randolph, Philip Ludwell, Beverley Whiting, Carter Burwell and Benjamin Waller. [1748.] The vestries were authorized to make presentation to benefices.

Dissent from the established church began to develope itself in Virginia. Many of the early settlers of the Western frontier were Scotch-Irish Presbyterians. Their remote situation afforded them entire religious freedom. [1740.] The celebrated Whitefield visited Virginia and preached at Williamsburg by the invitation of Commissary Blair. The extraordinary religious excitement that took place at this time in America, and which was increased by the impassioned eloquence of Whitefield was styled "the New-light Stir." In lower Virginia, Presbyterianism had its origin chiefly in the county of Hanover. Between 1740 and 1743 a few families of this county segregated themselves from the established church and were accustomed to meet for the purpose of worship at the house of Samuel Morris, the zealous leader of this little band of dissenters.

Of singular simplicity of character—sincere, devout, earnest, he was in the habit of reading to his neighbors from favorite religious works, particularly Luther's commentary on the Galatians, with the view of communicating to others, impressions that had

tance of many of the first persons of that age for knowledge, wit, virtue, birth or high station, and particularly contracted a most intimate and bosom friendship with the learned and illustrious Charles Boyle, Earl of Orrery. He was called to the bar in the Middle Temple; studied for some time in the Low Countries; visited the Court of France and was chosen Fellow of the Royal Society. Thus eminently fitted for the service and ornament of his country, he was made receiver general of his majesty's revenues here; was thrice appointed public agent to the court and ministry of England and being thirty-seven years a member, at last became president of the council of this colony. To all this were added a great elegancy of taste and life, the well-bred gentleman and polite companion, the splendid economist and prudent father of a family, with the constant enemy of all exorbitant power and hearty friend to the liberties of his country. *Nat. Mar. 28, 1674. Mort. Aug. 26, 1744. An AEtat 70.* His portrait, a fine old cavalier face, is preserved at Berkley.

Beverley, B. 4, p. 62, thus alludes to the garden at Westover: "Colonel *Byrd*, in his garden, which is the finest in that country, has a summer-house set round with the *Indian* honeysuckle, which all the Summer is continually full of sweet flowers, in which these birds delight exceedingly. Upon these flowers I have seen ten or a dozen of these beautiful creatures together, which sported about me so familiarly, that with their little wings they often fanned my face."

been made on himself. [1743.] Having met with a volume of Whitefield's sermons, he commenced reading them to his audience, who met to hear them every Sunday and frequently on week days. At length his dwelling being found too small to contain his increasing congregation, a meeting-house was built merely for reading, and it came to be called "Morris's Reading-room." He was soon invited to read these sermons in other parts of the country and thus other reading-houses were established. Those who frequented them were fined for absenting themselves from church, and Morris himself often incurred this penalty. When called on by the General Court to declare to what denomination they belonged, these unsophisticated dissenters, not knowing what else to call themselves, assumed for the present time, the name of Lutherans, (quite unaware that this appellation had been appropriated by any others,) but shortly afterwards they relinquished that name. *

Partaking in the religious excitement which then pervaded the colonies, limited in information and in the means of attaining it, discordant opinions began to divide this little association of unorganized dissenters. Some seemed to be verging towards Antinomianism, and it became a question among them whether it was right to pray, as prayer could not alter the divine purposes and it might be impious to desire that it should.

[1743.] Rev. William Robinson, a missionary sent out by the Presbytery of New Brunswick, visited the frontier settlements of Virginia. He preached among the Scotch-Irish settlers of Prince Edward, Campbell, and Charlotte counties, and in the last founded a congregation. Invited to Hanover, he preached for four successive days to large congregations of people. Some of them could not refrain from publicly giving vent

to their overwhelming emotions. Many were converted. Robinson before his departure succeeded in correcting some of the errors of the dissenters and brought them to conduct public worship with better order, prayer and singing of psalms being now introduced, so that "he brought them into some kind of church order on the Presbyterian model." * Another Missionary, Rev. Mr. Roan, from the Newcastle Presbytery, preached with success in Virginia, and the consequent excitement, together with his speaking freely of the degeneracy of the clergy of the colony, gave alarm to the supporters of the established church and measures were concerted for arresting these inroads of dissent. To aggravate the indignation of the government, a perjured calumniator, whose name has not survived, swore, "that he heard Mr. Roan utter blasphemous expressions in his sermon." An indictment was drawn up against him, although he had left the colony. Some of those who had invited him to preach at their houses, were summoned to appear before the General Court, and two of them were fined. The indictment, however, was dropped; the witnesses summoned to testify against him having testified in his favor; and the accuser fled from the colony. However, the intolerant spirit of the government continuing unabated, the Synod of New York, [1745,] at the instance of a deputation of Morris and some other dissenters of Eastern Virginia, sent an address to the Governor of Virginia, in their behalf, by two clergymen, William Tennent and Samuel Finley. They were kindly received by Gooch and were allowed to preach in Hanover, but they returned in a week to their own country. The first Presbyterian ministers who visited this part of Virginia, Robinson, Todd, Roan, &c., were by the people denominated New Lights—a name employed by their adherents in a favorable sense; by their opponents as an epithet of ridicule. In 1743, when Morris and some other dissenters had at Williamsburg professed their adhesion to the tenets of the Presbyterian "Confession of Faith," Gooch had received them kindly and recognized their right to the privileges

* Memoir of Samuel Davies in *Evan. and Lit. Mag.*, (edited by Rev. Dr. John H. Rice,) vol. 2, pp. 113, 186, 201, 330, 353, 474. This work contains a large mass of valuable historical and biographical materials appertaining to Virginia. "Origin of Presbyterianism," *Ib.* pp. 346, 353. This is a traditional account given from memory after an interval of 25 years. In some points it is erroneous; in general it is no doubt authentic,—in particulars it admits of doubt. Sketch of Hist. of the Church, (by Rev. Moses Hoge, sometime President of Hampden Sydney College,) appended to Campbell's Hist. of Va., pp. 290, 310. Hawks, chap. 6. 3 Burk. pp. 119, 125. Hodge's Hist. of Presbyterian church, part 2, pp. 42, 46, 284, 285.

* "Origin of Presbyterianism," *Evan. and Lit. Mag.*, vol. 2, p. 351. Whitefield afterwards preached for some days in Hanover. Mr. Madison, it is said, esteemed Whitefield the greatest orator that he had ever listened to. †

of the Toleration Act.* In this year, 1745, it has been seen he gave a like reception to Tennent and Finley. Yet in April of the same year he delivered a severe charge to the grand jury against "certain false teachers, lately crept into this government, who without order, or license, or producing any testimonial of their education, or sect, professing themselves ministers under the pretended influence of new light, extraordinary impulse, and such like satirical and enthusiastick knowledge, lead the innocent and ignorant people into all kinds of delusion." In the summer of the following year he issued a proclamation against Moravians, New Lights and Methodists, † prohibiting under severe penalties their meetings. In regard to the dissenters, Gooch exhibited inconsistency if not duplicity in bringing such harsh and sweeping charges against these ministers whom he had received so courteously. Perhaps he intended to apply his denunciations only to Roan and a few others who had rendered themselves particularly odious. But it is more probable that the Governor at first, when he reckoned the visits of these missionaries transient and their influence inconsiderable, was willing to indulge his courteous and obliging disposition towards them. But when dissent was found spreading with such unexpected rapidity, Gooch, together with the clergy and other friends of the es-

tablishment, became alarmed and had recourse to measures of intolerance which they would rather have avoided.*

Rev. Samuel Davies was pre-eminently instrumental in organizing and extending Presbyterianism in Eastern Virginia. Born in the county of Newcastle, Delaware, November 3, 1724, and educated principally in Pennsylvania, he visited Hanover county for the first time, transiently, in April, 1747. Languishing under consumption, which threatened to cut him off prematurely, he however recovered sufficient strength to return to Hanover, 1748, and settled at a place about 12 miles from the Falls of James river. † Severe laws had been passed in Virginia in accordance with the English Act of Uniformity, though with less penalty, and enforcing attendance at the Parish church. The Toleration Act was little understood in Virginia; Davies examined it carefully and satisfied himself that it was in force in the colony, not indeed by virtue of its original enactment in England, but because it had been expressly recognized and adopted by an act of the Virginia assembly. He had accordingly, upon qualifying according to the act of toleration, procured from the General Court, upon his first arrival in Hanover in 1747, a license of four places of worship, meeting-houses in the language of that day, situated in the counties of Henrico, Hanover and New Kent. [October, 1748.] Licenses were upon the petitions of the dissenters with difficulty obtained, for three other meeting-houses lying in Caroline, Louisa and Goochland. Davies was now only about twenty-four years of age, yet his fervid eloquence attracted large congregations, including many churchmen. On several occasions he found it necessary to defend the cause of the dissenters at the bar of the General Court. In one instance Peyton Randolph, the king's Attorney General, made an elaborate argument to prove that the act of Toleration did not extend to Virginia. When Davies, by permission, rose to reply, a titter ran through the court. It vanished however at the first

* According to "Origin of Presbyterianism," 2 Evan. and Lit. Mag., p. 319. "The Governor, Gooch, (who it was said had been educated a Presbyterian, but for the sake of an office, or for some other reason, had become a member of the established church,) immediately observed, on seeing the confession, that these men were Presbyterians and that they were tolerated by the laws of England." The interview between the Governor and Council and Morris and his companions, was interrupted by a thunder-storm of extraordinary fury. This was one of a train of providential events, which the dissenting deputation believed to have been instrumental in bringing about the favorable issue of their application.

† 3 Burk, p. 119, 122, 125. Rev. Dr. Archibald Alexander in the Richmond Watchman and Observer for March 18th, 1847, says—"These first Presbyterian Ministers who visited Middle Virginia were by the people denominated NEW LIGHTS. This name was not given to them in the North, where on account of the division of the Presbyterian Church into two parties they were called *New-side* and the other party *Old-side*. But as those zealous servants of God preached up the doctrine of justification by faith and regeneration by the Spirit—doctrines in those days never heard from the pulpits of the established clergy of Virginia—they were very commonly denominated NEW LIGHTS."

* Dr. A. Alexander in the communication to the Watchman and Observer before cited.

† Rev. John Rodgers, who accompanied Davies, finding it impossible to obtain from the Government permission to settle in Virginia, returned to the North. Miller's Life of Rodger's cited by Dr. Alexander, ubi supra.

sentence that he uttered. He contended that if the Toleration Act did not extend to Virginia, then neither did the act of Uniformity. His masterly argument commanded admiration, and, during his stay in Williamsburg, he received many civilities, especially from Dr. Blair and Sir William Gooch. And when Davies visited England some years after, he obtained from Sir Dudley Rider, the king's Attorney General, a decision that the Toleration Act *did* extend to Virginia. Peyton Randolph, his "old adversary," happened to be in London at the same time.

Sir William Gooch had now been governor of Virginia for twenty-two years, when 14th of August, 1749, he left the colony amidst the regrets of the people. Notwithstanding an occasional flexibility of principles, he was a man of virtuous character, and this together with singular amenity of manners, made him uncommonly popular. His zeal for the church betrayed him, towards the close of his administration, into something of intolerance, yet he seems to have commanded the esteem and respect even of dissenters.* During his administration, from 1728 to 1749, the number of the Virginians had nearly doubled and there had been added one third to the extent of their settlements.†

The government devolved upon Robinson, president of the council; but he dying within a few days, Thomas Lee succeeded as president. The duke of Albemarle‡ was now

* Campbell, p. 301. Rev. Samuel Davies spoke of Gooch and the council as follows:—"The Hon. Sir William Gooch, our late governor, discovered a ready disposition to allow us all claimable privileges and the greatest aversion to persecuting measures; but considering the shocking reports spread abroad concerning us, by officious malignants, it was no great wonder the council discovered a considerable reluctance to tolerate us. Had it not been for this, I persuade myself they would have shown themselves the guardians of our legal privileges as well as generous patriots to their country, which is the character generally given them."

† Chalmers' Introduction, vol. 2, p. 202.

‡ Of Lord Albemarle, then ambassador in Paris, Horace Walpole says:—"It was convenient to him to be anywhere but in England. His debts were excessive, though he was ambassador, groom of the Stole, Governor of Virginia, and Colonel of a regiment of guards. His figure was genteel, his manner noble and agreeable. The rest of his merit was the interest Lady Albemarle had with the king through Lady Yarmouth. He had all his life imitated the French manners till he came to Paris, where he never conversed with a Frenchman. If good breeding is not different from good sense, Lord Albemarle at least knew how to distinguish it from good nature. He would bow to his postilion while he was ruining his tailor."

governor-in-chief. This Thomas Lee was father of Philip Ludwell, Richard Henry, Thomas L, Arthur, Francis Lightfoot and William. As Westmoreland, their native county, is distinguished above all others in Virginia, as the birth-place of genius,—so perhaps no other Virginian could boast so many distinguished sons as president Lee. He was succeeded by Lewis Burwell of Gloucester, an eminent scholar. During his brief administration, nine Cherokee chiefs, with thirty warriors, visited Williamsburg. A party of the Nottaways, animated by inveterate hostility, approached to attack them. The President, however, effected a reconciliation and they sat down and smoked together the pipe of peace.*

* Carter's Creek, (the old seat of the Burwells,) is situated on a creek of that name and not far back from the York river. The high, diamond-shaped chimneys and the paneling of the interior, remind the visitor that Virginia is truly the *Ancient Dominion*. In the family grave-yard, shaded with locusts, overrun with parasites and grape-vines, the following inscriptions are to be found:—

Here lyeth the Body of
Lewis Son of Lewis BVRWELL and Abigail
his wife on the left hand
Of his brother Bacon and
Sister Jane. He departed
this life ye 17th day of
September 1696 in the 15th year of his age.

To the Sacred Memory of Abigail,
the loving and Beloved wife of Matthew
Burwell, of the county of Gloster,
Virginia, Gent. who was descended
of the illustrious family of Bacons and
Heiresses of the Honble. Nathaniel Bacon, Esq.,
President of Virginia, who
not being more Honorable in her
Birth than Vertuous in her Life departed
this world the 12th day of November
1692, aged 36 years, having Blessed her
Husband with four sons and six daughters.

Beneath this tomb lies the body of Major Nathaniel Burwell, eldest son of Major Lewis Burwell, who by a well-regulated conduct and firm integrity justly established a good reputation. He died in the forty-first year of his age, leaving behind him three sons and one daughter by Elizabeth eldest daughter of Robert Carter, Esq, in the year of our Lord Christ MDCCXXI.

Here lyeth the body of the Honble. Lewis Burwell, son of Majr. Lewis Burwell and Lucy his wife of the county of Gloster, who first married Abigail Smith of the Family of the Bacons, by whom he had four sons and six daughters and after her death to Martha the widow of the Honble. William Cole, by whom he also had two sons and three daughters, and departed this life the 19th day of December,

CHAPTER XXX.

1752—1755.

Dinwiddie Governor; George Washington; His birth and family; A Surveyor; Promoted to rank of Major; His mission through the Wilderness; Is made Lieut. Colonel; Commencement of hostilities between France and England; Washington surprizes a French party; M. de Jumonville killed; Death of Col. Fry; His character; Washington besieged in Fort Necessity; Capitulates; Dinwiddie's injudicious orders; Washington resigns, Arrival of Braddock; Washington joins him as aid-de-camp; Benjamin Franklin; Braddock's expedition; Braddock's defeat; Washington's bravery; His account of the defeat; Davies; Washington made Colonel of the Virginia Regiment; Indian incursions; General consternation; Patriotism of Davies; Progress of Presbyterianism.

A new epoch dawns with the administration of Robert Dinwiddie, who arrived in Virginia, as Lieutenant Governor, [1752.] In his time the name of George Washington began to attract the public attention. The third son of Augustine Washington he was born [22nd February, 1732,] at Bridge's Creek on the Potomac, in the county of Westmoreland—the eldest child of a second marriage. His mother's maiden name was Mary Ball. Shortly after the birth of George, his father removed to a seat opposite Fredericksburg, where he died [1748.] George was now ten years of age. He received a plain English education. The bent of his early genius was so strong towards entering the navy, that [1747,] when at the age of fifteen, a midshipman's warrant was obtained for him. The affectionate opposition of his mother, prevented the execution of this scheme. [1743.] Lawrence, his eldest brother, married the daughter of the Honorable George William Fairfax, and this connection intro-

Anno Domini 1710, leaving behind him three sons and six daughters.

In perpetual memory of the virtuous Lucy Burwell the loving and beloved wife of Major Lewis Burwell, of the county of Gloster, in Virginia, long since deceased, from the ancient family of Higginsons and was the only daughter of the valiant Capt. Robert Higginson, one of the first commanders that subdued the country of Virginia from the power of the Heathen, who not being more worthy in her birth than virtuous in her life, exchanged this life for a better on the 6th of November in the — year of her age — 1673.

duced George Washington to Lord Fairfax, who gave him an appointment as surveyor in the Northern Neck of Virginia.* He was now little more than sixteen years of age. After crossing the first range of the Alleghanies, the surveying party entered a wilderness where they were exposed to the inclemency of the season, and subjected to great fatigues. It was March, but snow still lingered in the mountains, and the streams were swollen into torrents. The survey-lands lay on the South Branch of the Potomac, about seventy miles above Harper's Ferry. This mode of life was well-fitted to train young Washington for his future career. A knowledge of topography taught him how to choose a ground for encampment or for battle. Hardy exercise and exposure invigorated a frame naturally athletic and fitted him to endure the fatigues of military life. He now became acquainted with the habits and temper of the Indians and the people of the frontier, and grew familiar with the wild country which was to be the scene of his early military operations. Promoted to the place of a public surveyor, he continued to engage in this pursuit for three years, except during the rigor of the winter months.† [1751.] At the age of nineteen, he was appointed one of the adjutants-general of Virginia, with the rank of major. In the Autumn of this year, he accompanied his brother Lawrence, then in declining health, to Barbadoes in the West Indies. He returned to Virginia and after lingering a short time, died.

After the arrival of Governor Dinwiddie, the colony was divided into four military districts, and the Northern one was allotted to Major Washington. France was now undertaking to stretch a chain of posts from Canada to Louisiana, in order to secure a control over the boundless and magnificent regions West of the Alleghanies, which she claimed by a vague title of discovery. England claimed the same territories upon grounds equally slender,—a cession ‡ made at the Treaty of Lancaster, 1744, from the Six Nations, or Iroquois, who by an uncertain tradition, pretended to have conquered those

* Marshall's Life of Washington, vol. 1, pp. 1-2.

† Sparks' Life of Washington.

‡ 2 Writings of Washington, pp. 13-14, in note. The consideration of this cession was £400 paid by Virginia in money and goods.

regions at some remote period. A title better than either,—that of the tribes actually inhabiting the country, commanded no consideration from the contending powers. The French troops had now commenced establishing posts in the territory, on the Ohio, claimed by Virginia. Dinwiddie finding it necessary to demand a suspension of these encroachments, a trusty messenger was wanted, and Major Washington cheerfully undertook the hazardous mission. Starting from Williamsburg [31st of October, 1753,] he reached Will's Creek on the 14th of November. Thence accompanied by an Indian, a French interpreter, Mr. Gist, an expert woodsman, and four other attendants, he traversed a savage wilderness, over rugged mountains covered with snow and across rapid swollen rivers. He reconnoitred the face of the country with a sagacious eye and selected the confluence of the Monongahela and Alleghany rivers, where they form the beautiful Ohio, as an eligible site for a fort. Fort Du-Quesne was afterwards erected there by the French. Provided with Indian guides, Major Washington ascended the Alleghany and delivered Dinwiddie's letter to the French commander, Monsieur Le Gardeur de St. Pierre, a courteous knight of the order of St. Louis. Detained there some days, Washington examined the fort and prepared a plan and description of it. It was situated on a branch of French Creek, about fifteen miles South of Lake Erie, and about seven hundred and fifty from Williamsburg. When he departed, his canoe was hospitably stocked with liquors and provisions. After a perilous voyage of six days, he reached Venango. Accoutred in an Indian dress, he now proceeded on foot, accompanied by Gist and an interpreter. After three days, the interpreter taking charge of the exhausted horses, Major Washington, with a knapsack on his back, containing only his papers and food and a gun in his hand, pursued his journey with no companion but Gist. At a place of ill-omened name, Murdering Town, on the South East Fork of Beaver Creek, they met with an Indian who undertaking to guide them through the woods, shot at either the Major, or Gist, within a short distance, but without effect. Gist would have killed the savage on the spot, but was prevented by the prudence of Washington. Upon reaching

the Alleghany river, they were compelled to sleep on the snow, with no covering save their blankets. The next day they employed in making a raft of logs, with the aid only of a hatchet. Just as the sun set behind the mountains, they launched it and undertook to cross. The river was covered with floating masses of ice; by which before they were half-way over, they were blocked up and near being sunk. Washington putting out his setting-pole to stop the raft, was thrown by the revulsion into the water, but recovered himself by laying hold of one of the logs of the raft. He and his companion forced to abandon it, betook themselves to an island near at hand, where they passed the night in wet clothes and without fire. Gist's hands and feet were frozen. In the morning they crossed the river on the ice, and passed two or three days at a trading post near the spot where the battle of the Monongahela was afterwards fought. Washington arrived at Williamsburg on the 16th of January, after an absence of eleven days, and a journey of 1500 miles, one half through an untrdden wilderness. A journal which he kept of his route, was published in the colonial newspapers and in England.* For this hazardous and painful journey he received no compensation, save the bare amount of his expenses.†

St. Pierre's reply being deemed unsatisfactory, Dinwiddie despatched Capt. Trent with a small party to commence a fort at the fork of the Ohio. The assembly raised a regiment of three hundred men. The command was given to Colonel Joshua Fry, and Washington was made Lieut. Colonel. [April, 1754.] He obtained leave to proceed with two companies to the Great Meadows. At Will's creek he learned that an ensign in command of Trent's company had surrendered his fortlet to a large French force.‡ This first act of hostility between France and England, in North America, took place near the site of Pittsburg. In the war that ensued, England indeed triumphed gloriously, yet that triumph served only to bring on in

* 2 Sparks' Writings of Washington, pp. 432-447.

† Ib. p. 92.

‡ Sparks' Life of Washington, p. 43. Marshall (Life of Washington, vol 1, p. 4.) says erroneously, that Washington received this intelligence at the Great Meadows. See 2 Writings of Washington, p. 6.

its train the revolt of the colonies and the dismemberment of the empire.

Lt. Col. Washington ascertaining the capture of the fort, (now called Du-Quesne after the governor of Canada,) and that a detachment was then on its march towards his camp, determined to anticipate them. Guided by friendly Indians, in a dark and rainy night he approached the French encampment. At day-break on the 28th of May, with forty of his own men and a party of Indians, he surrounded the French. A skirmish ensued; M. de Jumonville, the French commander, and ten of his party, were killed and twenty-two made prisoners. Of Washington's men, one was killed and two or three wounded. While the regiment was on its march to join the detachment in advance, the command devolved, [May 31st,] on Washington, by the death of Col. Joshua Fry. This officer, a native of England, was educated at Oxford. Coming to Virginia, he was appointed professor of mathematics in the college of William and Mary, and was afterwards a member of the house of burgesses, and engaged in running a boundary line between Virginia and North Carolina to the Westward. In concert with Peter Jefferson, father of Thomas, he made a map of Virginia, and he was a commissioner at the treaty of Logstown, [June 1752.] He died universally lamented.* The provisions of the detachment being nearly exhausted, and the ground occupied disadvantageous, a council of war, held June 28th at Gist's house, thirteen miles beyond the Great Meadows, advised a retreat, and Colonel Washington fell back to the post at the Great Meadows, now styled Fort Necessity.† His force amounted to about four hundred men. A ditch was commenced around the stockade. Forty or fifty Indian families took shelter in the fort and among them Tanacharison, or the Half-king, and queen Aliquippa. They proved to be of more trouble than advantage, being as spies and scouts of some service; in the field useless. Before the completion of the ditch, M. de Villiers appeared, [July 3rd, 1754,] before the fort with nine hundred men, and, at eleven o'clock in the forenoon, commenced an attack, by firing at the distance of six hundred paces. The assailants fought under cover of

the trees and high grass on the side of rising ground near the fort. They were received with intrepidity by the Americans. The rain fell heavily during the day, and the trenches were filled with water. The engagement lasted until eight o'clock in the evening, when the French commander having twice sounded a parley, it was accepted, and about midnight, during a heavy rain, the fort was surrendered. By the articles of capitulation it was stipulated that Washington's troops, retaining their arms (artillery excepted) and baggage, should march out of the fort on the following morning, with drums beating and colors flying, and return home unmolested. The articles of surrender according to the French copy, implied an acknowledgment on the part of Washington, that M. de Jumonville had been assassinated. It was, however, alleged by Washington, that he had been misled by the inaccuracy of Vanbraam, the interpreter, a Dutchman.* It was so stormy at the time, that he could not give a written translation of the articles, and they could scarcely keep a candle lighted to read them by, so that it became necessary to rely upon the interpreter's word. The officers present averred that the word assassination was not mentioned and that the terms employed were "*the death of Jumonville.*" Of the Virginia regiment, three hundred and five in number, twelve were killed and forty-three wounded. The loss of Capt. Mackay's independent company was not ascertained. The Indians were with difficulty restrained from plundering the baggage. All the horses and cattle having been destroyed by the French, it became necessary to leave a large part of the baggage and to convey the remainder, with the wounded, on the backs of the soldiers. Thus they returned to Will's Creek, whence Colonel Washington proceeded to Williamsburg. The assembly voted him thanks and gave him three hundred pistoles, to be distributed among his men. But a good deal of dissatisfaction was expressed at some of the articles of the capitulation when they were made public.† The Virginia regiment, quartered at Win-

* He and Capt. Stobo were retained by de Villiers as hostages. They were sent to Quebec, and thence to England, and appear not to have returned to Virginia. M. de Villiers was brother to de Jumonville. See 2 Washington's Writings, pp. 460, 465, 468.

† 2 Writings of Washington, pp. 456-459.

chester, was re-inforced by some companies from Maryland and North Carolina. Dinwiddie injudiciously ordered this force to march at once again over the Alleghanies and expel the French from Fort Du Quesne, or build another near it. This little army, now under command of Col. Innes of North Carolina, did not exceed half the number of the enemy, and was unprovided for a winter campaign. But the assembly making no appropriation for the expedition, it was fortunately abandoned. Dinwiddie censured the assembly's "republican way of thinking," and wrote to the ministry that "the progress of the French would never be effectually opposed but by means of an act of parliament, compelling the colonies to contribute to the common cause, independently of assemblies." This scheme had been broached a long time before. During the winter, Dinwiddie, under pretence of peremptory orders from England, dissolved the Virginia regiment into independent companies. The effect of this upon Washington, would have been to reduce him to the grade of Captain, and to subject him to officers whom he had commanded. He therefore resigned and passed the winter at Mt. Vernon. He was now aged 22. In a letter to Col. William Fitzhugh, dated November 15th, 1754, he said:—"if you think me capable of holding a commission, that has neither rank nor emolument annexed to it, you must entertain a very contemptible opinion of my weakness, and believe me to be more empty than the commission itself."*

[February 20th, 1755.] General Braddock arrived in Virginia with two British regiments, each consisting of five hundred men—the 44th and 48th, commanded the one by Sir Péter Halket, the other by Colonel Dunbar. At Braddock's invitation, Washington entered his family as a volunteer, retaining his former rank. The General's head-quarters were at first at Alexandria,† and his troops were stationed in that place and in the neighborhood, until they marched for Will's Creek.

[April 13th.] The governors of Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia, met General Braddock at Alexan-

dria, to concert a plan of operations. Col. Washington was courteously received by the governors, especially by Shirley, with whose manners and character he was quite fascinated. Overtaking Braddock at Fredericktown, Maryland, Washington accompanied him to Winchester and thence to Fort Cumberland, on Will's Creek. Early in May, Washington was made an aid-de-camp to the General. The army now consisted of the two regiments of British regulars, numbering 1,000, and as many provincials, including the fragments of two independent companies from New York, one of which was commanded by Captain Horatio Gates, afterwards a major-general in the Revolutionary War. There were also thirty sailors detached by admiral Keppel, who commanded the squadron that brought over the two regiments. The army was detained by the difficulty of procuring provisions and conveyances. The apathy of the colonial legislatures, and the bad faith of the contractors, so irritated Braddock, that he indulged in vehement denunciations against the colonies. These led to frequent disputes between him and Washington, who however found the General deaf to his arguments on that subject. The plan of employing pack-horses for transportation, instead of wagons, suggested by Washington, was, after some delay, in some measure adopted. Benjamin Franklin, deputy postmaster general of the colonies, visited Braddock at this time for the purpose (or as some allege under the pretext) of facilitating the transmission of a mail to and from the army. Learning the General's embarrassment, he undertook to procure the requisite number of horses and wagons from the Pennsylvania farmers and sent them in a short time to Will's Creek.* Thus Franklin and Washington were unconsciously co-operating with a British General in a movement destined in its consequences to dismember the empire. The army with its baggage, extending four miles in length, moved from Will's Creek, [June 12th.] Within two days Washington was seized with a fever and obliged to travel in a covered wagon. Braddock, however, continued to consult him, and he advised the general to leave his heavy artillery and baggage with a

* 2. Writings of Washington, p. 67, in note.

† Then sometimes called Belhaven, the original name of that town.

* Gordon's History of Pennsylvania. It was a long time before Franklin recovered compensation for the farmers for this service. Shirley at length paid the amount, £20,000.

rear division and press forward with expedition to Fort DuQuesne. In a council of war it was determined that Braddock should advance with twelve hundred select men, and Col. Dunbar remain with a rear-guard of about six hundred.* The advance corps proceeded only nineteen miles in four days. Washington was now compelled to stop (by the general's order) his physician declaring that his life would be jeopardized by a continuance with the army, and Braddock promising that he should be brought up with the army, before it reached Fort DuQuesne. On the day before the battle of the Monongahela, Washington in a wagon rejoined the army at the mouth of the Youghiogany river and fifteen miles from Fort Du Quesne. On the morning of the 9th of July, 1755, Braddock's troops, in the highest spirits, confident of entering the gates of Fort DuQuesne triumphantly in a few hours, crossed the Monongahela, and advanced along the Southern margin of it. Washington in after life was heard to declare it the most beautiful spectacle that he had ever witnessed,—the brilliant uniform of the soldiers, arranged in columns and marching in exact order; the sun gleaming on their burnished arms; the Monongahela flowing tranquilly by on the one hand; on the other the primeval forest projecting its shadows in sombre magnificence.† At one o'clock the army had crossed the river at a point ten miles from Fort DuQuesne. From the river a level plain extended Northward nearly half a mile; thence the ground gradually ascending terminated in hills. The road from the fording-place to the Fort, led across this plain, up this ascent and through an uneven country, covered with woods.‡ Beyond the plain, on both sides of the road, were ravines. Three hundred men under Lieut. Colonel Gage,§ made the advanced party and it was immediately followed by another of two hundred. Next came Braddock with the artillery, the main body and the baggage. Brigadier General Sir Peter Halket was second in command. No sooner had the army crossed the

river, than a sharp firing was heard upon the advanced parties, who were now ascending the hill about a hundred yards beyond the termination of the plain. A heavy discharge of musquetry was poured in upon the front and right flank; yet no enemy was visible, and their position was only discovered by the smoke of their muskets. A random and ineffective fire was returned. Braddock hastened forward; but the van already overwhelmed with consternation by the savage war-whoop, fell back upon the main body, communicating a panic from which the troops could not be recovered. Braddock and his officers made every effort to rally them, in vain. In this confusion they remained for three hours, huddled together, doing the enemy little injury and shooting one another. The Virginians* alone retained their presence of mind and behaved with the utmost bravery. They adopted the Indian mode of combat and fought each man for himself from behind a tree. This was done in spite of the orders of Braddock, who still endeavored to form his men into platoons and columns, as if they had been manœuvring in the plains of Flanders, or parading in Hyde Park. The French and Indians, entirely concealed in deep ravines and behind trees and high grass, kept up a deadly fire, singling out their objects. Colonel Washington, shortly after the commencement of the engagement, was the only aid not wounded. Although still feeble from the effects of his illness, on him now devolved the whole duty of carrying the General's orders, and he rode a conspicuous mark in every direction. Two horses were killed under him; four bullets penetrated his coat. But he escaped unhurt, while every other officer on horseback was either killed or wounded. Dr. Craik afterwards said, "I expected every moment to see him fall. His duty and situation exposed him to every danger. Nothing but the superintending care of Providence could have saved him from the fate of all around him." After an action of three hours, Braddock, under whom three horses had been killed, received a mortal wound, † and his

* 2 Washington's Writings, p. 82. A number of the men were disabled by sickness.

† 2 Washington's Writings, p. 468-470.

‡ See plan of the ground in 2 Washington's Writings, p. 90.

§ Subsequently commander of British troops at Boston.

* They were clothed in blue. Weems' Life of Washington.

† A provincial soldier, Tom Fausett, afterwards professed, or confessed, that he had killed General Braddock. But Fausett was a half-savage and habitually intemperate; his statement, therefore, does not appear entitled to credit. See Howe's Hist. Coll. of Va., p. 97.

troops now fled in great disorder and could not be rallied until they had crossed the Monongahela. The wounded General, by the care of Colonel Stewart, of the Virginia troops, and his servant, was brought off from the field at first on a small tumbril cart, then on a horse, finally by the soldiers. He expired on the fourth day after the defeat and was buried in the road, near Fort Necessity, Washington reading the funeral service on the occasion. More than half of the army were killed or wounded; two-thirds of them by their own bullets, according to Washington's conjecture. Sir Peter Halket was killed on the field. Secretary Shirley was shot through the head. Colonels Burton, Gage and Orme, Major Sparks, brigade Major Halket, Captain Morris, &c., were wounded. There were ten Captains killed and five wounded, fifteen lieutenants killed and twenty-two wounded. Out of eighty-six officers, twenty-six were killed and thirty-seven wounded. The whole number of killed was estimated at three hundred, or more, and as many wounded were brought off. The aggregate of killed and wounded was 714. The enemy's force, variously estimated, did not exceed 850 men, of whom 600, it was conjectured, were Indians. The number of the French loss, according to an imperfect return was killed 33, including three officers, one of whom was Beaujeu, chief in command; wounded 34, including four officers. The French and Indians being covered by ravines, the balls of the English passed harmless over their heads. A charge with the bayonet would have at once driven them from their lurking places and put them to flight, or at least dispersed them in the woods.

The remains of the defeated detachment retreated to the rear division in precipitate disorder, leaving the road behind them strewed with trophies of the disaster. Shortly after, Col. Dunbar marched with the remaining regulars to Philadelphia. Col. Washington returned home disappointed, mortified, indignant at the conduct of the regular troops. In a letter to Governor Dinwiddie, giving an account of it, he said: "They were struck with such an inconceivable panic, that nothing but confusion and disobedience of orders prevailed among them. The officers in general behaved with incomparable bravery, for which they greatly suffered, there

being upwards of sixty killed and wounded, a large proportion out of what we had. The Virginia companies behaved like men and died like soldiers, for I believe out of three companies on the ground that day, scarcely thirty men were left alive. Captain Peyrouny* and all his officers down to a corporal were killed. Captain Poulson had almost as hard a fate, for only one of his escaped. In short the dastardly behavior of the regular troops (so called) exposed those who were inclined to do their duty, to almost certain death, and at length in spite of every effort to the contrary, they broke and ran as sheep before hounds, leaving the artillery, ammunition, provisions, baggage, and in short every thing, a prey to the enemy, and when we endeavored to rally them, in hopes of regaining the ground and what we had left upon it, it was with as little success as if we had attempted to have stopped the wild bears of the mountains or the rivulets with our feet, for they would break by in spite of every effort to prevent it." † Braddock was a man of bravery, but not of genius which knows how to bend to circumstances. Passionate, headstrong, irritated, not without some just grounds, against the provinces, he rejected the proffer of Washington to lead the provincials, who were accustomed to border warfare, in advance. But he atoned for these errors by his death. ‡

Washington retired to Mount Vernon. His reputation was greatly elevated by his gallantry at the battle of the Monongahela. The eloquent Davies in a note to a patriotic discourse delivered [August 17th, 1755,] before Capt. Overton's company of Independent volunteers, raised in Hanover county, said: "As a remarkable instance of this, I may point out to the public that heroic youth, Colonel Washington, whom I cannot but hope Providence has hitherto preserved in so signal a manner for some important service to his country." §

During the French and Indian wars, Davies often employed his eloquence in animating the patriotism of the colony. After Braddock's defeat, such was the general con-

* A Frenchman, by birth.

† Washington's Writings, p. 87.

‡ Chalmers, true to his unvarying prejudice against the colonies, justifies Braddock's conduct.

§ Davies' Sermons, (Ed. New York, 1828,) vol. 3, p. 38.

sternation, that many seemed ready to desert the country. On this occasion Davies delivered a discourse, in which he declared, "Christians should be patriots. What is that religion good for, that leaves men cowards upon the appearance of danger? And permit me to say, that I am particularly solicitous, that you my brethren of the dissenters should act with honor and spirit in this juncture, as it becomes loyal subjects, lovers of your country and courageous Christians. That is a mean, sordid, cowardly soul, that would abandon his country and shift for his own little self, when there is any probability of defending it. To give the greater weight to what I say, I may take the liberty to tell you, I have as little personal interest, as little to lose in this colony, as most of you. If I consulted either my safety or my temporal interest, I should soon remove with my family to Great Britain, or the Northern colonies, where I have had very inviting offers. Nature has not formed me for a military life, nor furnished me with any great degree of fortitude and courage; yet I must declare that after the most calm and impartial deliberation, I am determined not to leave my country, while there is any prospect of defending it." *

Dejection and alarm vanished under his eloquence and at the conclusion every man seemed prepared to say: "Let us march against the enemy!"* Captain Meredith's company was now made up in a few minutes. Davies retiring from the muster ground was followed by the whole regiment, who pressed around him, to catch every word that fell from his lips. He again addressed them until exhausted by speaking. It is probable that Patrick Henry caught the spark of eloquence from Davies. At the age of fourteen Henry accompanied his mother, to hear Davies, at the Fork Church in Hanover and there can be no doubt but that he often heard him in after years. Henry always remarked, that Mr. Davies was "the

greatest orator he had ever heard." * Presbyterianism steadily increased in Virginia under the auspices of Davies and his successors, particularly Graham, Smith, Waddel † and Brown, and at the revolutionary era it had become an important element of social organization of the colony. †

CHAPTER XXXI.

1755—1763.

Washington; Sufferings of the frontier; Fort Loudoun; Conference of Governors; Dunwiddie succeeded by Blair; Miscellaneous affairs; Fauquier Governor; Forbes' expedition against Fort DuQuesne; Washington member of Assembly; His Marriage; "The Parson's cause;" Patrick Henry.

[April 1755.] The frontier suffered another savage irruption. Washington beheld with emotion calamities which he could not avert. He was at every step thwarted in his exertions by a general perverseness and insubordination, aggravated by the hardships of the service and the want of system. At length, by persevering solicitations, he prevailed on the assembly to adopt more energetic military regulations. The discipline then introduced was what, at the present day, would be reckoned extremely rigorous. Severe flogging was in ordinary use. The penalty for fighting was five hundred lashes, for drunkenness one hundred. A Capt. Dagworthy, at Fort Cumberland, commissioned by Governor Sharpe of Maryland, refusing to obey Washington's orders, the dispute was referred to General Shirley, commander-in-chief of his majesty's armies in America, who was then at Boston. Colonel Washington, accompanied by his aide-de-camp Colonel George Mercer, left Alexandria, [February 4th, 1756,] and on his route passed through Philadelphia, New York, New London, Newport and Providence. He visited the Governors of Pennsylvania and New York and spent several days in each of the principal cities. He was well received by General Shirley, with whom he continued ten days, mixing with the society of Boston, attending the sessions of the legislature, and visiting Castle William. During the tour he

* Davies' Sermons, vol. 3, p. 169. Sermon (on the defeat of General Braddock going to Fort DuQuesne,) delivered in Hanover, July 20th, 1755. Memoir of Davies. Evan. and Lit. Mag., vol. 2. I will here correct an error. On a preceding page it is stated that Davies after the delivery of an argument before the General Court, was treated with great civility by Dr. [James] Blair and Sir William Gooch. Dr. Blair was not at this time living. It was James Blair, nephew of the Doctor, and a member of the General Court, who showed attentions to Davies.

* Memoir of Rev. James Waddel, by his grandson, Rev. Dr. James W. Alexander.

† The original of the Blind Preacher of Wirt's British Spy.

‡ Memoir of Samuel Davies, in Evan. and Lit. Mag., vol. 2.

everywhere was looked upon with interest as the hero of Monongahela. Gen. Shirley decided the contested point in his favor, and he returned to Virginia after an absence of seven weeks. The Virginia regiment was now augmented to fifteen hundred men. Peyton Randolph, the attorney general, raised a volunteer company of one hundred gentlemen, who, however, proved quite unfit for the frontier service. The distress of the border country increased. Winchester was almost the only settlement west of the Blue Ridge, on the northern frontier, that was not deserted. About the end of April a party of French and Indians returned to Fort DuQuesne, laden with plunder, prisoners and scalps. Fort Loudoun was now commenced at Winchester under the superintendence of Washington. It stood at the northern extremity of Loudoun street, covering an area of about half an acre. A well was sunk chiefly through a bed of limestone. The batteries mounted twenty-four guns. Vestiges of this work still remain. Fort Cumberland was also built [1755] in the fork between Will's Creek and the North Branch of the Potomac, on the Maryland side, about fifty-five miles north-west of Winchester. A town has since arisen on the spot.* [August 1715.] The Assembly of Virginia offered a reward of £10 for the scalp of every male Indian above twelve years of age. It is remarkable, that as late as the year 1756 the Blue Ridge of mountains was the boundary of Virginia and great difficulty was found in completing a single regiment to protect the inhabitants of the border country from the cruel irruptions of the Indians. Yet at this time the population of the colony was estimated at 293,000 of whom 173,000 were white and 120,000 black, and the militia were computed at 35,000 men fit to bear arms.† A long interval of peaceful prosperity had enervated the planters of lowland Virginia; luxury had introduced effeminate manners and dissolute habits. "To eat and drink, delicately and freely; to feast, and dance, and riot; to pamper cocks and horses; to observe the anxious, important, interesting,

event—which of two horses can run fastest; or which of two cocks can flutter and spur most dexterously; these are the grand affairs that almost engross the attention of some of our great men. And little low-lived sinners imitate them to the utmost of their power. The low-born sinner can leave a needy family to starve at home and add one to the rabble at a horse-race or a cock-fight. He can get drunk and turn himself into a beast with the lowest as well as his betters with more delicate liquors."* Burk, the historian of Virginia, who was far from being a rigid censor, noticing the manners of the Virginians during the half century preceding the revolution, says: "The character of the people for hospitality and expense was now decided and the wealth of the land-proprietors, particularly on the banks of the rivers, enabled them to indulge their passions even to profusion and excess. Drinking parties were then fashionable in which the strongest head or stomach gained the victory. The moments that could be spared from the bottle were devoted to cards. Cock-fighting was also fashionable."†

Governor Dinwiddie's zeal in military affairs outstripped his knowledge, and Washington was distracted by inconsistent, ill-judged and impracticable orders and harassed by petulant complaints. It was indeed believed that if he could have withstood the strong interest arrayed in favor of Washington, the Governor would have rather given the command to Col. Innes, although far less competent and an inhabitant of another colony, North Carolina. Dinwiddie's partiality to Innes was attributed to national prejudice, for they were both natives of Scotland.‡ The entire tenor of this Governor's correspondence with Washington, was ungracious, peremptory, querulous, and it was not seldom openly offensive. Such treatment from a British governor, together with the invidious distinctions drawn between colonial and British officers, naturally tended to abate Washington's loyalty and to fit him for

* Davies' Sermons, vol. 3, p. 100.

† Burk's Hist. of Va., vol. 3, p. 402. On the same page he says: "I find in 1717 a man of cocks advertised to be fought between Gloucester and James river. The cocks on one side were called *Bacon's Thunderbolts* after the celebrated rebel of 1676."

‡ Sparks' Writings of Washington, vol. 2, p. 262, in note.

* Kercheval's History of the Valley, pp. 90-91.

† 2 Sparks' Writings of Washington, p. 154 in note. Dinwiddie wrote to Fox, (father of Charles James,) one of the Secretaries of State. "We dare not venture to part with any of our white men any distance as we must have a watchful eye over our negro slaves who are upwards of one hundred thousand."

the great part that he was destined to perform in the war of independence.

Lord Loudoun, the newly appointed governor of Virginia and commander-in-chief in the colonies, now arrived in America * and called a conference of Governors and military officers to meet him at Philadelphia. Washington by the ungracious and reluctant leave of Dinwiddie attended this conference. He had previously transmitted to the feeble and incompetent Loudoun an elaborate statement of the posture of affairs in Virginia, † exhibiting the insufficiency of the militia and the necessity of an offensive system of operations. Loudoun, however, determined to direct his main efforts against Canada and to leave only twelve hundred men in the Middle and Southern provinces. Instead of receiving aid, Virginia was required to send four hundred men to South Carolina. The Virginia regiment was now reduced to a thousand men. Col. Washington, however, insisted that a favorable conjuncture was now presented for capturing Fort DuQuesne, since the French attacked in Canada would be unable to reinforce that post. But his advice, although approved by Dinwiddie, was unheeded. The campaign of the North proved inglorious; that of the South ineffectual. Washington was confined by ill health at Mount Vernon for several months. [January, 1758.] Robert Dinwiddie, after an administration of five years, ceasing to be Governor, sailed for England, not much regretted by the Virginians. A scholar, wit, and amiable companion, in private life he commanded esteem. He was, however, unequal to the trying position in which he found himself at the head of affairs in Virginia. In pecuniary matters his integrity was not unsuspected. With the temper so often displayed by the governors of the ancient Dominion, nor the less by him because he was a parvenu, he was servile to those above him, to those below haughty and overbearing. His place was filled for a short time by John Blair, president of the council. ‡ Samuel Davies, by invitation, preached to the militia of Hanover county

in Virginia, at a general muster, [May 8th, 1758,] with a view to raise a company for Capt. Samuel Meredith. In this discourse Davies said, "Need I inform you what barbarities and depredations a mongrel race of Indian savages and French papists have perpetrated upon our frontiers? How many deserted or demolished houses and plantations? How wide an extent of country abandoned? How many poor families obliged to fly in consternation and leave their all behind them? What breaches and separations between the nearest relations? What painful ruptures of heart from heart? What shocking dispersions of those once united by the strongest and most endearing ties? Some lie dead, mangled with savage wounds, consumed to ashes with outrageous flames, or torn and devoured by the beasts of the wilderness, while their bones lie whitening in the sun and serve as tragical memorials of the fatal spot where they fell. Others have been dragged away captives and made the slaves of imperious and cruel savages: others have made their escape and live to lament their butchered or captivated friends and relations. In short, our frontiers have been drenched with the blood of our fellow-subjects through the length of a thousand miles; and new wounds are still opening. We in these inland parts of the country, are as yet unmolested through the unmerited mercy of Heaven. But let us only glance a thought to the Western extremities of our body politic, and what melancholy scenes open to our view! Now perhaps while I am speaking, now while you are secure and unmolested, our fellow-subjects there may be feeling the calamities I am describing. Now perhaps the savage shouts and whoops of Indians and the screams and groans of some butchered family may be mingling their horrors and circulating their tremendous echoes through the wilderness of rocks and mountains." *

The earl of Loudoun had been commissioned to fill Dinwiddie's place, but his military avocations prevented him from entering on the duties of the gubernatorial office. The elder Pitt, now minister, had resolved

* Marshall, (Life of Washington, vol. 1, p. 17,) says that Loudoun came to Virginia. Sparks, (Life of Washington, p., 88,) says that he did not.

† Sparks' Writings of Washington, vol. 2, pp. 217-230.

‡ 2 Sparks' Writings of Washington, pp. 270-271, in note.

* Davies' Sermons, vol. 3, p. 68. Does not this closing sentence resemble somewhat the following from Fisher Ames' speech on the Western posts? "I can fancy that I listen to the yells of savage vengeance and the shrieks of torture. Already they seem to sigh in the Western wind, already they mingle with every echo from the mountains."

on a vigorous prosecution of the war in America. The department of the Middle and Southern colonies was entrusted to General Forbes and he was ordered to undertake an expedition against Fort DuQuesne. Washington rejoined the army. Forbes having deferred the campaign too late, the French and Indians renewed their merciless warfare. In the county of Augusta sixty persons were murdered. The Virginia troops were augmented to two thousand men, divided into two regiments,—one under Washington, who was still commander-in-chief; the other the new regiment under Col. Wm. Byrd. *

Francis Fauquier, appointed governor, now reached Virginia. [June 24th 1758,] the Virginia troops left Winchester and early in July halted at fort Cumberland. † At Colonel Washington's suggestion, the light Indian dress, hunting shirt and blanket, was adopted by the army. Contrary to his advice, Forbes instead of marching immediately upon the Ohio by Braddock's road, undertook to construct another from Raystown in Pennsylvania. The General, it was supposed, was influenced by the Pennsylvanians to open for them a more direct avenue of intercourse with the West. ‡ The new road caused great delay. Major Grant had been detached from the advanced post at the Loyal Hanna, with eight hundred men to reconnoitre the country about Fort DuQuesne. An action occurred; the detachment was defeated; Grant and Major Lewis were made prisoners. Of the eight Virginia officers present five were slain, a sixth wounded, and a seventh captured. Captain Bullit and fifty Virginians defended the baggage with great resolution and contributed to save the remnant of the detachment. He was the only officer who escaped unhurt. Of one hundred and sixty-two Virginians, sixty-two

were killed and two wounded. Grant's total loss was two hundred and seventy-three killed and forty-two wounded. When the main army was set in motion, Col. Washington requested to be put in advance. Forbes profiting by the fatal error of Braddock, complied with this request. Washington was called to head-quarters, attended the councils of war and at the General's desire drew up a line of march and order of battle. * The main body left Raystown, [8th of October, 1758,] and reached the camp at Loyal Hanna early in November. The troops were worn out with fatigue and exposure; winter had set in and more than fifty miles of rugged country yet intervened between them and Fort DuQuesne. A council of war declared it unadvisable to proceed further in that campaign. Just at this conjuncture, however, three prisoners were brought in, and they gave such a report of the feeble state of the garrison at the Fort, that it was determined to push forward at once. Washington with his provincials opened the way. The French reduced to five hundred men and deserted by the Indians, set fire to the Fort and retired down the Ohio. Forbes took possession of the post on the next day, [25th of November, 1758.] The works were repaired and it was now named Fort Pitt. An important city called after the same illustrious statesman has been reared near the spot. Forbes, whose health had been declining during the campaign, died shortly afterwards at Philadelphia. He was a native of Scotland and educated as a physician; an estimable and brave man of fine military talents.

Washington after furnishing two hundred men from his regiment, as a garrison for Fort Pitt, then considered as within the jurisdiction of Virginia, marched back to Winchester. Thence he proceeded to Williamsburg to take his seat in the assembly, having been elected by the county of Frederick. He resigned his military commission in December,

* Of Westover, on the James river. The total strength of Col. Byrd's regiment at Fort Cumberland Augt. 3d, 1758. was 859. The officers were Lieut. Col. George Mercer, Major Wm. Peachy, Captains S. Munford, Thomas Cocke, Hancock Eustace, John Field, John Posey, Thomas Fleming, John Roote and Samuel Meredith. Bland papers, vol. 1, p. 150.

† See in Bland papers, vol. 1, pp. 9-10, Robert Munford's letter dated at the Camp near Fort Cumberland, July 6th, 1758. This Robert Munford was father of the translator of Homer, and grandfather to George W. Munford, Esq., Clerk of the Assembly of Virginia.

* These may be seen in Sparks' Writings of Washington, vol 2, pp. 313, 315. Forbes' army consisted of 1,200 Highlanders, 350 Royal Americans, 2,700 provincials from Pennsylvania, 1,600 from Virginia, two or three hundred from Maryland, and 2 companies from North Carolina, making in all, including the wagoners, between six and seven thousand men. Sparks' Writings of Washington, vol. 2, p. 289 in note. This army was five months in reaching the Ohio and found at length no enemy.

‡ Bland Papers, vol. 1, p. 13.

having been engaged in service for more than five years. His health had been impaired and domestic affairs required his attention. [6th of January, 1759,] he was married to Martha, widow of John Parke Custis and daughter of John Dandridge. In her were united wealth, beauty and an amiable temper. During this session of the assembly, an incident occurred, which has been thus described by Wirt: "By a vote of the house, the speaker, Mr. John Robinson, was directed to return their thanks to Colonel Washington, on behalf of the colony, for the distinguished military services which he had rendered to his country. As soon as Col. Washington took his seat, Mr. Robinson, in obedience to this order and following the impulse of his own generous and grateful heart, discharged the duty with great dignity, but with such warmth of coloring and strength of expression, as entirely confounded the young hero. He rose to express his acknowledgments for the honor, but such was his trepidation and confusion, that he could not give distinct utterance to a single syllable. He blushed, stammered and trembled for a second, when the speaker relieved him by a stroke of address, that would have done honor to Louis XIV. in his proudest and happiest moment, 'Sit down, Mr. Washington, your modesty equals your valor, and that surpasses the power of any language that I possess.'"^{**} Washington retired to Mount Vernon, continuing however to be a member of the house of burgesses for many years.

[1763.] There occurred in Virginia a remarkable suit at law, known as "the Parson's cause," and in it the genius of Patrick Henry first shone forth. The emoluments of the clergy of the established church in Virginia for a long time had consisted of 16,000 pounds of tobacco, contributed by each parish. In 1755, the tobacco crop failing, in consequence of a drought and the exigencies of the colony being greatly augmented by the French war, the assembly passed an act to endure for ten months, authorizing all debts due in tobacco to be paid either in kind or in money, at the rate of sixteen shillings and eight pence for every hundred pounds of tobacco.† The law was universal in its ap-

plication,—embracing private debts, public county and parish levies and fees of all civil officers. Its effect upon the clergy was to reduce their salary to a moderate amount in money—far less than the sixteen thousand pounds of tobacco, which they were entitled to, were then worth, yet still as much as they had usually received. The act did not contain the usual clause by which acts were suspended until they should receive the royal assent, since it might require the entire ten months, the term of its operation, to learn the determination of the crown. No resistance was offered by the clergy to this act. However in this year the greater number of them petitioned the house of burgesses to grant them a more liberal provision for their maintenance. Their petition set forth—"That the salary appointed by law for the clergy, is so scanty, that it is with difficulty they support themselves and families, and can by no means make any provision for their widows and children, who are generally left to the charity of their friends; that the small encouragement given to clergymen, is a reason why so few come into this colony from the two universities; and that so many who are a disgrace to the ministry find opportunities to fill the parishes; that the raising the salary would prove of great service to the colony, as a decent subsistence would be a great encouragement to the youth to take orders; for want of which, few gentlemen have hitherto thought it worth their while to bring up their children in the study of divinity; that they

Act." As the price of tobacco now rose to six pence per pound, the reduction amounted to sixty-six and two-thirds per cent. At two pence, the salary of the clergy was about £133; at six pence, about £400. Yet the act must have operated in relief of the *indebted* clergy, equally with other debtors.

The preceding part of this note was written some years ago. While preparing the MS. of this sheet for the press, I have received a copy of Col. Richard Bland's "Letter to the Clergy of Virginia." For the use of this rare pamphlet, I am indebted to Dr. Thomas P. Atkinson, a descendant of the author of it. It is dated March 20, 1760, at Jordans, in Prince George, of which county Col. Bland was then a Burgess. The following is extracted from p. 17 of the Letter to the Clergy;—"They [the Legislature] did not attempt or even entertain a thought of *abridging the maintenance of the clergy*; but allowed them a price for their salaries equal to *Crop Tobacco* at 18 shillings the hundred, which made their salaries that year £141; a sum, I will pronounce, larger than the clergy in general had received in any one year from the first regulation of their salaries by a Law, and which (one would be willing to think) they above all men ought to have been contented with in a year of such general distress."

* Wirt's Life of Patrick Henry.

† This was equivalent to two pence per pound, and hence the act was styled by the clergy "the Two Penny

generally spent many years of their lives at great expense in study, when their patrimony is pretty well exhausted; and when in Holy Orders, they cannot follow any secular employment for the advancement of their fortunes and may on that account expect a more liberal provision." *

Another relief act (similar to that of 1755) fixing the value of tobacco at eighteen shillings a hundred, was passed, [1758,] † upon a mere anticipation of another scanty crop. † It did however fall short and the price rose extremely high. A warm controversy now ensued between the planters and the clergy. Rev. John Camm, Rector of York Hampton Parish, assailed the "Two-Penny Act" in a pamphlet of that title, which was replied to severally by Col. Richard Bland and Col. Landon Carter. An acrimonious controversy took place in the Virginia Gazette. The cause of the clergy became at length so unpopular that a printer could not be found in Virginia willing to publish Camm's rejoinder to Bland and Carter, styled "The Colonels dismounted," and he was obliged to resort to Maryland for that purpose. The Colonels retorted and this angry dispute threw the colony into great excitement. At last the clergy appealed to the king in council.

By an act of assembly, passed in 1662, a salary of £80 was settled upon every minister, "to be paid in the valuable commodities of the country, if in tobacco, at 12 shillings the hundred, if in corn, at ten shillings the barrel." [1696.] The salary of the clergy was fixed at 16,000lbs. of tobacco, worth at that time about £80. This continued to be the amount of their stipends, until 1731, when the value of tobacco being raised, they increased to about £100, or £120. This was exclusive of their glebes and other perqui-

sites. In Virginia, besides the salaries of the clergy, the people had to bear parochial, county and public levies, and fees of clerks, sheriffs, surveyors and other officers, all which were payable in tobacco. The consequence of this state of things, was, that a failure in that crop involved the people in general distress. Were they to be exposed to cruel impositions and exactions, to have their estates seized and sacrificed, "for not complying with laws which Providence had made it impossible to comply with? Common sense, as well as common humanity, will tell you that they are not and that it is impossible any instruction to a governor can be construed so contrary to the first principles of *justice* and *equity*, as to prevent his assent to a law, for relieving a colony, in a case of such general distress and calamity." * The Bishop of London in his letter to the lords of trade and plantations, denounced the act of 1758 as binding the king's hands and manifestly tending to draw the people of the plantations from their allegiance to the king. But it was replied, if the Virginians could ever entertain the thought of withdrawing from their dependency on England, nothing could be more apt to bring about such a result, than the denying them the right to protect themselves from distress and calamity, in so trying an emergency. In the year when this relief act was passed, many thousands of the colonists did not make one pound of tobacco, and if all the tobacco raised in the colony had been divided among the tithables, "they would not have had 200 lbs. a Man, to pay the Taxes for the support of the War, their Levies and other public Dues, and to provide a scanty subsistence for themselves and Families;" † and "the *General-Assembly* were obliged to issue Money from the publick Funds, to keep the people from Starving." The Act had been denounced as treasonable; but were the Legislature to sit with folded arms, silent and inactive amid the miseries of the people? "This would have been Treason indeed—Treason against the State—against the clemency of the Royal Majesty:" Many landlords and civil officers were members of the Assembly in 1758, their rents and fees were

* Col. Bland's Letter to the Clergy, p. 6.

† Col. Bland in Letter to the Clergy, dates this act in 1757. It was passed in 1758. See 7 Hening, p. 240.

‡ Hening, vol. 6, p. 568, vol. 7, p. 240. Hawks, p. 118, says, "On the contested point, [to wit, the validity of the act,] it will probably at this day be conceded, that the Clergy were in the right." Burk, vol. 3, p. 302, attributes the rise in the price of tobacco, "to the arts of an extravagant speculator of the name of Dickenson." No authority is referred to and the acts themselves expressly attribute the scarcity in 1755, to "drought," in 1757, to "unseasonableness of the weather." See also Everett's Life of Henry, in Sparks' American Biography, (2nd series,) vol. 1, pp. 230-234.

* Bland's Letter to the Clergy, pp. 14-16.

† Ibid p. 17.

payable in tobacco, nevertheless they cheerfully promoted the enactment of an Act by which they were to suffer great losses. The royal prerogative in the hands of a benign sovereign, could only be exerted for "the Good of his People and not for their Destruction." "When, therefore, the Governor and Council, (to whom this Power is in Part delegated,) find from the Uncertainty and Variableness of human Affairs, that any Accident happens which general Instructions can by no Means provide for, or which by a rigid construction of them, would destroy a People so far distant from the Royal Presence, before they can apply to the Throne for Relief, it is their Duty as good Magistrates, to exercise this power as the Exigency of the State requires; and though they should deviate from the Strict Letter of an Instruction, or perhaps in a Small Degree from the fixed Rule of the Constitution, yet such a Deviation cannot possibly be *Treason* when it is intended to produce the most salutary End the Preservation of the People." The safety of the People is the supreme law.* An English clergyman named Burnaby passed some months in Virginia about the time of this dispute, travelling through the colony and conversing freely with all ranks of people. He expresses himself on the subject in the following manner: "Upon the whole, however, as on the one hand I disapprove of the proceedings of the assembly in this affair; so on the other I cannot approve of the steps which were taken by the clergy; that violence of temper, that disrespectful behavior towards the governor, that unworthy treatment of their commissary, and to mention nothing else, that confusion of proceeding in the convention, of which some, though not the majority, as has been invidiously represented, were guilty;—these things were surely unbecoming the sacred character they are invested with and the moderation of those persons who ought in all things to imitate the conduct of their divine master. If instead of flying out in invectives against the legislature; of accusing the governor of having given up the cause of religion by passing the bill; when in fact had he rejected it, he would never have been able to have got any supplies during the course of the

war, though ever so much wanted; if instead of charging the commissary, [Robinson,] with want of zeal, for having exhorted them to moderate measures, they had followed the prudent counsels of that excellent man and had acted with more temper and moderation, they might, I am persuaded, in a very short time, have obtained any redress they could reasonably have desired. The people in general were extremely well affected towards the clergy."

George III., in Council, denounced "the Two Penny act" as an usurpation and declared it null and void. The clergy now instituted suits in the several county courts, to retrieve the losses which they had suffered by the rescinded act. The county of Hanover was selected as the scene of the first trial; for as all the causes stood on the same foot, a decision of one would determine all. This was brought by Rev. James Maury. [November, 1763,] the Court decided the points of law in favor of the clergyman, thus declaring that the Act in question had been annulled by the crown. Maury's success before a jury seemed now inevitable, since there could be no dispute relative to the facts of the case. Mr. John Lewis, who had defended the popular side, now retired from the cause as essentially settled and as being now merely a question of damages. The defendants, however, as a dernier resort, employed Patrick Henry, Jr., to appear as their advocate at the next hearing. It was the first case in which he was employed. The suit came to trial again, [December, 1st, 1763,] before the county court. On an occasion of such universal interest, an extraordinary concourse of people assembled at Hanover Court House*—not only from that but also from the neighboring counties. The Court House and yard were thronged; twenty clergymen sate on the bench to witness a contest in which they had so much at stake. The presiding magistrate was no other than the father of young Henry. The case stood upon a writ of enquiry of damages and was opened for the plaintiff, by Peter Lyons. When Patrick Henry rose to reply, his commencement was awkward, unpromising, embarrassed. In a few moments, however, he began to warm with his subject, and catch-

* Ibid, p. 18.

* Still standing, but somewhat altered.

ing inspiration from the surrounding scene, his attitude grew more erect, his gesture bolder, his eye kindled with the radiance of genius, his voice ceased to falter and the witchery of its music "made the blood run cold and the hair stand on end." The people, as if charmed by some enchanter's influence, hung with rapture upon his accents; in every part of the house, on every bench, in every window, they stooped forward from their stands in breathless silence, astonished, delighted, riveted upon the youthful orator, whose eloquence blended the beauty of the rainbow with the terror of the cataract. When he declared that "a king who annulled and disallowed laws of a salutary nature instead of being the father degenerated into the tyrant of his people," the opposing advocate cried out, "He has spoken treason!" But the court was not of that opinion and Henry proceeded in his bold philippic. Amid the storm of his invective, the disappointed and indignant clergy, feeling that the day was lost, retired from the bench. Young Henry's father sate bedewed with tears of fond surprise. The jury quickly returned a verdict of one penny damages; the court carried away by the torrent of popular enthusiasm, refused to grant a new trial; acclamations resounded within the Court House and without, and in spite of cries of "order," Patrick Henry was unwillingly lifted up and borne in triumph on the shoulders of his excited admirers. He was now the man of the people. * In after years, aged men, who had been present at the trial of "the Parsons' cause," reckoned it the highest compliment that they could bestow upon a speaker, to say of him, "he is almost equal to Patrick when he plead against the Parsons."

The decision of the Parsons' cause was rather equitable than legal, rather just than strictly constitutional. The Act of 1758, though it may well have been held valid at first as grounded on necessity and the law of nature, yet had been subsequently an-

* Wirt's Life of Henry. From this work I have borrowed freely in this passage and in others. Notwithstanding the faults of an hyperbolical and exuberant style, there is a charm in this biography, which stamps it as one of those works of genius which "men will not willingly let die." See also Hawks, p. 124. Rev. Mr. Maury prepared a sketch of Henry's speech, which is still preserved, and will, it is said, be shortly published.

nulled by the king in Council, and the clergy could only be defeated in their claim by a sort of revolutionary recurrence to fundamental principles, by an abnegation of the regal authority and an exertion of popular sovereignty. Henry's speech in the Parsons' cause and the decision of it, were indeed the commencement of the Revolution in Virginia. Hanover was the starting point.

Patrick Henry, the second of nine children, was born [May 29th, 1736.] at Studley,* in Hanover county, Virginia. His parents were in moderate, but easy circumstances. The father, John Henry, was a native of Aberdeen in Scotland, a cousin of David Henry, (brother-in-law of Edward Cave and his successor as editor of the Gentlemen's Magazine,) and nephew, on the maternal side, of Dr. William Robertson, the historian. John Henry emigrated to Virginia sometime before 1730. He enjoyed the friendship and patronage of Robert Dinwiddie, afterwards Governor of Virginia, who introduced him to the acquaintance of Col John Syme, of Hanover, in whose family he became domesticated, and with whose widow† he afterwards intermarried. Her maiden name was Sarah Winston and she was of an old and respectable family. John Henry was Colonel of his regiment, county surveyor, and for many years presiding magistrate. He was a loyal subject and took pleasure in drinking the king's health at the head of his regiment. He enjoyed the advantage of a liberal education; his understanding was plain but solid. A zealous member of the established church, he was,

* The dwelling is not extant. Some laurels have found an appropriate place near the site of it. Antique hedges of box, and an avenue of decrepid trees survive to whisper of the past. Studley is surrounded by woods, so that Henry was actually,

"The forest-born Demosthenes,
Whose thunder shook the Philip of the seas."

† Col. Byrd, (in Westover MS., p. 142,) describes her as "a portly handsome dame" "of a lively, cheerful conversation, with much less reserve than most of her countrywomen. It becomes her very well and sets off her other agreeable qualities to advantage." "The courteous widow invited me to rest myself there that good day and to go to church with her, but I excused myself by telling her she would certainly spoil my devotion. Then she civilly entreated me to make her house my home whenever I visited my plantations, [she had five in that county,] which made me bow low and thank her very kindly." Col. Syme left a son by her, who had "all the strong features of his sire not softened in the least by any of hers."

however, more familiar with Horace and Livy, than with works of piety and devotion. *

Soon after his settlement in Virginia, Patrick, his brother, followed him and became after some interval of time, rector of St. Paul's church in Hanover. † William Winston, brother-in-law of John Henry, was singularly gifted with the powers of eloquence. It may hence be inferred that Patrick Henry derived his genius from his mother. ‡ John

Henry, in a few years after the birth of his son Patrick, removed from Studley to Mount Brilliant, now the Retreat, (in the same country,) and it was here that the future orator was principally educated. The father had opened a grammar-school in his own house and Patrick after learning the first rudiments at an "old field school" in the neighborhood, at ten years of age commenced his studies under his father, with whom he acquired an English education with some knowledge of the mathematics and of Latin. His application to study does not appear to have been close. With a taste by no means uncommon in his country and for which it is said his mother's family—the Winstons—were especially distinguished, he was fond of hunting and angling. When engaged in the latter amusement, he would lie lazily stretched "under the shade of some tree that overhung the sequestered stream, watching for hours the motionless cork of his fishing line." He loved solitude and in hunt-

* In a memoir of Rev. James Waddel, (the Blind Preacher of Wirt's British Spy,) by his grandson, Rev. Dr. Jas. W. Alexander, the following is found: "When he, [Dr. Waddel] came into Virginia, a young man, he visited Mr. Samuel Davies and heard him preach in Hanover near where Col. Henry lived, the father of Patrick Henry, to whom he was introduced on the Sabbath and with whom he went home. At parting Mr. Davies told him he would find that Virginians observed not the Sabbath as the Pennsylvanians, and that he would have to bear with many things he would wish otherwise. Accordingly, as he went home with Col. H., he found him much more conversant with Virgil and Horace than the Bible."

† [1733.] Upon the recommendation of the Governor and the Commissary, the Rev. Patrick Henry became minister of St. George's Parish in the new county of Spotsylvania. [April, 1734.] He resigned this charge. Hist. of St. George's Parish, pp. 17-19.

‡ Mary Howitt has given an account of the village of Winston in England and of the old Hall there, now tenantless, called "Winston-oud-ha," an antique brick structure, high, with numerous gables and well grouped massive chimneys. Winston church is likewise styled the old church, although there is no new one in the village. In the church-yard are sculptured figures of Sir John Winston and his Lady Penelope, in full court dress of Queen Elizabeth's day, in kneeling attitude, with upturned eyes and holding prayer-books in their hands. The tomb was erected by their son, Sir Christopher Winston, the last of that branch of the family. His only daughter married Oliver Charters Esq., and the estate still continues in a branch of that family. Penelope was a family name among the Winston's of Virginia. Four Winstons, three brothers and a cousin, came over from Yorkshire, England, and settled in Hanover. Isaac, one of the four, (or son of one of them,) had children. 1. William, father of Judge Edmund Winston 2. Sarah, mother of Patrick Henry, Jr., the orator. 3. Geddes, (pronounced Gaddice.) 4. Mary, who married John Coles. 5. A daughter who married —— Cole. She was grandmother to Mrs. Madison, (the President's lady,) Dolly Payne that was.

Of these five children, William the eldest, (called Langaloo William,) married Alice Taylor of Caroline. He was a great hunter; had a quarter in Bedford or Albemarle, where he spent sometimes half the year in hunting deer. He was fond of the Indians, dressed in their costume, and was a favorite with them. According to tradition, however, an amour with the daughter of an Indian chief and who was betrothed to another chief, involved him in difficulties with the savages. They besieged him in a log fort for a week, during which he defended himself with the aid of three negroes armed with rifles. At length the favorite squaw interposing between the belligerents, like the Sabine

women of old, restored peace. Langaloo William Winston was distinguished as a great Indian fighter. The following notice of him is taken from Wirt's Life of Patrick Henry, p. 12:—"Mrs. Henry, the widow of Col. Syme, as we have seen and the mother of Patrick Henry, was a native of Hanover county and of the family of Winstons. She possessed in an eminent degree the mild and benevolent disposition, the undeviating probity, the correct understanding and easy eloquence, by which that ancient family has long been distinguished. Her brother William, the father of the present Judge Winston, is said to have been highly endowed with that peculiar cast of eloquence for which Mr. Henry became afterwards so justly celebrated. Of this gentleman I have an anecdote from a correspondent, (Mr. Pope,) which I shall give in his own words:

"I have often heard my father, who was intimately acquainted with this William Winston, say that he was the greatest orator whom he ever heard, Patrick Henry excepted; that during the last French and Indian war and soon after Braddock's defeat, when the militia were marched to the frontiers of Virginia against the enemy, this William Winston was the lieutenant of a company, that the men, who were indifferently clothed, without tents, and exposed to the rigor and inclemency of the weather, discovered great aversion to the service and were anxious and even clamorous to return to their families—when William Winston mounting a stump, (the common *rostrum* you know of the field orator of Virginia,) addressed them with such keenness of invective and declaimed with such force of eloquence on liberty and patriotism, that when he concluded, the general cry was, "Let us march on; lead us against the enemy!" and they were now willing, nay anxious to encounter all those difficulties and dangers which but a few moments before had almost produced a mutiny." The children of this Langaloo William Winston were, 1, Elizabeth, who married Peter Fontaine; 2, Fanny, who married Dr. Walker; 3, Edmund, the Judge, who married first Sarah, daughter of Isaac Winston—second, the widow of Patrick Henry, Jr., the orator. (Dolly Dandridge that was.)

ing chose not to accompany the noisy set that drove the deer, but preferred to occupy the silent "stand," where for hours he might muse alone and indulge the "pleasing solitariness" of thought.

[1750.] When fourteen years old he accompanied his mother in a carriage to hear Samuel Davies preach. His eloquence made a deep impression on young Henry, and throughout his lifetime he always held him the greatest orator he had ever heard. *

At the age of fifteen he was placed in a store to learn the mercantile business and after a year so passed, the father set up William, an elder brother, and Patrick in trade. Patrick in person was rather coarse, in manners awkward, in dress slovenly, in conversation plain, but good-humored and agreeable; his aversion to study was invincible and his faculties were impeded by indolence. † The mercantile adventure, after the experiment of a year, proving a failure, William, who had even less energy than Patrick, retired from the concern and the chief management was devolved upon the younger brother. Patrick, disgusted with an unpromising business, listened impatiently to the hunter's horn and the cry of hounds echoing in the neighboring woods. Excluded from these congenial sports, he sought a re-

source in music and learned to play not unskilfully on the flute and the violin. He found another source of entertainment in the conversation of the country people who met at his store, particularly on Saturday. He excited debates among them and watched the workings of their minds, and by stories, real or fictitious, studied how to move the passions at his will. At the end of two or three years a too generous indulgence to his customers, and neglect of business, together perhaps with the insuperable difficulties of the enterprise itself, forced him to abandon his store, almost in a state of insolvency.

In the meantime, however, at the age of eighteen he had married a Miss Shelton, the daughter of a poor but honest farmer in the neighborhood. Young Henry now by the joint assistance of his father and his father-in-law, furnished with a small farm and one or two slaves, undertook to support himself by agriculture. Yet although he tilled the ground with his own hands, whether owing to his negligent and unsystematic habits, or to the sterility of the soil, after an experiment of two years he failed in this enterprise as utterly as in the former. Selling his scanty property at a sacrifice for cash, he turned again to merchandize. Still displaying the same incorrigible indifference to business, he now resumed his violin, his flute, his books, his curious inspection of human nature, and occasionally shut up his store to indulge in his favorite sports. He now studied geography and became a proficient in it; he examined the charters and history of the colony and pored over the translated annals of Greece and Rome. Livy became his favorite, and in his early life he read it at least once in every year. * His second mercantile experiment turned out more unfortunate than the first and left him a bankrupt. Yet these disappointments, aggravated by an early marriage, did not visibly depress his spirit. In the winter of 1760, Thomas Jefferson then in his seventeenth year, on his way to the college of William and Mary, spent the Christmas holydays at the seat of Col. Dandridge in Hanover. Patrick Henry, Jr., now 24 years of age, being a near neighbor of colleges."

* Howe's Hist. Coll. of Va., p. 221.

"It has been supposed, that he [Davies] first kindled the fire and afforded the model of Henry's elocution, as he lived from his 11th to his 22d year in the neighborhood where the patriotic sermons of Mr. Davies were delivered, which produced as powerful effects as those ascribed to the orations of Demosthenes." *Ibid.* p. 294.

The following is taken from the memoir of the Rev. Dr. James Waddel, by his grandson, the Rev. Dr. James W. Alexander: "A gentleman intimately connected with Patrick Henry, informed me that this great man was accustomed to speak in terms of unbounded admiration of Dr. Waddel's powers, pronouncing Davies and Waddel to be the greatest orators he had ever heard. And it may be observed, that both Henry and Waddel were in early life placed where they could catch the inspiration of Samuel Davies. I am indebted to a gentleman of Virginia, as well qualified to authenticate such a fact as any man living, that when Henry was a lad, he used to drive his mother in a gig to the places in Hanover where Mr. Davies preached, and that in after life the great orator of the Revolution spoke of the eloquence which he then heard and felt, as closely connected with his own wonderful success. In no one of the three, however, was it the oratory which is taught by masters of elocution, or practised before the mirrors of colleges."

† Grahame's Hist of the U. S. I am repeatedly indebted to this learned, candid and elegant historian. Wirt's Life of Henry. Life of Henry, by Alexander H. Everett, in Sparks' Amer. Biog., (2nd series.) vol. 1, pp. 212-215.

* I incline to suspect that his alleged aversion to books in after life has been exaggerated and that he somewhat affected it in compliance with the vulgar prejudice against book-learning.

bor, young Jefferson now met with him for the first time and observed that his manners had something of coarseness in them; his passion was music, dancing and pleasantries. In the last he excelled and it attached every body to him. He displayed no uncommon calibre of intellect or extent of information; but his misfortunes were not to be traced in his countenance or in his conduct. Self-possessed repose is the characteristic of native power. Consciousness of superior genius and a reliance upon a benignant Providence, buoyed him up in the fluctuations of an adverse fortune. Young Henry embraced the study of the law and after a short course of reading, was admitted to the bar in the spring of 1760. For three years he remained in obscurity. In the "Parsons' Cause" he first emerged from the horizon and thenceforth became star of the ascendant.

CHAPTER XXXII.

1763—1774.

Disputes between the Colonies and the Mother Country; The Stamp Act; Virginia opposes it; Henry's Resolutions; His Eloquence; Congress meets at New York; Stamp Act repealed; Speaker Robinson; Fauquier succeeded by Blair; Baptists in Virginia; Act to levy duties in America resisted; Botetourt Governor; Affairs during his Administration; Succeeded by President Nelson; Great Fresh in 1771; Dunmore Governor; Resistance to duty on Tea; Proceedings in Virginia; Congress meets at Philadelphia; Dunmore's Indian War; The Battle of Point Pleasant; Logan.

The successful termination of the war of 1755 paved the way for American independence. Hitherto from the first settlement of the colonies, Great Britain without seeking a direct revenue from them, had been satisfied with a monopoly of their trade. And now when they had grown more capable of resisting impositions, the mother country rose in her demands.* Thus [1764,] disputes commenced between Great Britain and the colonies, and lasting about twelve years, ended in a disruption of the empire. This result, inevitable in the natural course of events, was precipitated by the impolitic and arbitrary measures of the British government. In the general loyalty of the

colonies, new commercial restrictions, although involving a heavy indirect taxation, would have been submitted to. But the novel scheme of direct taxation—without their consent—was reprobated as contrary to their natural and chartered rights and a flame of discontent finally overspread the whole country. The recent war had inspired the provincial troops with more confidence in themselves and had rendered the British regulars less formidable in their eyes. The success of the allied arms had put an end to the dependency of the colonies upon the mother country for protection against the French. In several of the provinces, Germans, Dutch, Swedes and Frenchmen were found commingled with the Anglican population. Great Britain by long wars ably conducted, had acquired glory and an extension of empire; but in the meantime she had contracted an enormous debt. The British officers entertained with a liberal hospitality in America, carried back to England exaggerated reports of the wealth of the colonies. The colonial governors and the British ministry had often been thwarted and annoyed by the republican and independent and sometimes turbulent spirit of the colonies, and longed to see it curbed. In fine, the British administration was in the hands of a corrupt and grasping oligarchy, and the minister determined to lessen the burdens at home by levying a direct tax from the colonies. The loyalty of the Americans had never been warmer than at the close of the war. They had expended their treasure and their blood freely and the recollection of mutual sufferings and a common glory strengthened their attachment to the mother country. These loyal sentiments were destined to wither soon. The colonies too had involved themselves in a heavy debt. Within three years, from 1756 to 1759, parliament had granted them a large amount of money to encourage their efforts; yet exclusive of that amount and of the extraordinary supplies appropriated by the colonial assemblies, a very heavy debt still remained unliquidated. When, therefore, parliament, in a few years after, undertook to extort money by a direct tax, from provinces to which she had lately granted incomparably larger sums, it was conceived that the object of the minister was not simply to raise the inconsider-

* Ramsay's Hist. of the U. S.

able amount of the tax, but to establish a new and absolute system of "taxation without representation." It was easy to foresee that it might and would be made the instrument of unlimited extortions and would extinguish the practical legislative independence of America.

After war had raged for nearly eight years, a general peace was concluded, by which France ceded Canada, and Spain the Floridas to Great Britain. These conquests and the culminating power and the arrogant pretensions of that proud island, excited the jealousy and the fears of Europe. In England a corrupt and arbitrary administration had engendered a formidable opposition at home. [1763.] The national debt had accumulated to an enormous amount; for which an annual interest of twenty-two millions of dollars was paid. The minister proposed to levy from the colonies part of this sum; alleging that, as the recent war had been waged partly on their account, it was but fair that they should contribute a share of the expense. And a right was claimed, according to the letter of the British Constitution, for parliament to tax every portion of the empire. The absolute right of legislating for the colonies had long, if not always, been claimed theoretically by England; but she had never exerted it in practice, in the essential article of taxation. The inhabitants of the colonies admitted their obligation to share the expense of the war, but insisted that the necessary revenue could be legitimately levied only by their own legislatures; that taxation and representation were inseparable, and that distant colonies not represented in parliament were entitled to tax themselves. The justice of parliament would prove a feeble barrier against the demands of avarice. As in England the privilege of granting money was the palladium of the people's liberty against the encroachments of the crown; so the same right was the safeguard of the colonies against the tyranny of the imperial government. [March, 1764.] Parliament passed resolutions declaratory of an intention to impose a stamp-duty in America and avowing the right and the expediency of taxing the colonies. This was the fountain-head of the revolution. These resolutions gave great dissatisfaction in America; but were popular in England.

The prospect of lightening their own burdens at the expense of the colonists, dazzled the English gentry. The resolutions met with no actual opposition in the colonies. [March, 1765.] Grenville, the English minister, introduced in the house the American Stamp-Act, declaring null and void instruments of writing in daily use in the colonies, unless executed on stamped paper or parchment, charged with a duty imposed by parliament. The bill, warmly debated in the house of commons, met with no opposition in the house of lords, and, [March 22,] received the royal sanction. The night after it passed, Dr. Franklin wrote to Mr. Charles Thomson: * "The sun of liberty is set;—you must light up the candles of industry and economy." Mr. Thomson answered, "I was apprehensive that other lights would be the consequence." At first it was taken for granted in England and in America, that the stamp-act would be enforced. It was not to take effect till November, more than seven months after its passage. Virginia led the way in opposition. [29th of May, 1765,] Patrick Henry brought before the house of burgesses, a series of resolutions declaring that, "the general assembly of this colony, together with his majesty or his substitutes, have in their representative capacity, the only exclusive right and power to lay taxes and imposts upon the inhabitants of this colony." Mr. Henry was a young and new member; but finding the men of weight in the house averse to opposition, and the stamp-act about to take effect and no person likely to step forth—alone, unadvised and unassisted he wrote these resolutions on a blank leaf of an old law-book. † The last resolution was carried only by a single vote. The debate on it, in the language of Jefferson, was "most bloody." Peyton Randolph, the king's Attorney General, Richard Bland, Edmund Pendleton, George Wythe and all the old leaders of the house were in opposition. Mr. Henry was, however, ably sustained by Mr. George Johnston, burgess of the county of Fairfax. Many threats were uttered in the course of this stormy debate and much abuse heaped on Mr. Henry. Thomas Jefferson, then a student at Wil-

* Afterwards Secretary to Congress.

† A "Coke upon Littleton."

liamsburg, standing at the door of the house, overheard the debate. After the Speaker Robinson had declared the result of the vote, Peyton Randolph left the chamber and as he entered the lobby near young Jefferson, exclaimed, "By God, I would have given 500 guineas for a single vote!" Henry bore himself on this occasion like Washington in the battle of the Monongahela. Yet scarce a vestige survives of this display of eloquence. Tradition has preserved one incident. While thundering against the stamp-act he exclaimed, "Cæsar had his Brutus, Charles I. his Cromwell, and George III—('Treason,' cried the Speaker; 'treason, treason,' resounded from every part of the house. Henry rising to a loftier attitude, with an unfaltering voice and unwavering eye, finished the sentence,)—may profit by the example; if this be treason, make the most of it." Mr. Henry was now the leading man in Virginia. His resolutions gave the impulse to the other colonies and the revolutionary spirit spread like a prairie-fire over the whole country.

At the instance of the colony of Massachusetts Bay, a congress met on the second Tuesday of October, 1765, at New York. Twenty-eight members were in attendance. The assemblies of Virginia, North Carolina and Georgia were prevented by their governors from sending deputies. This congress made a declaration denying the right of parliament to tax the colonies, and concurred in petitions to the king and the house of commons and a memorial to the house of lords. Virginia and the other two colonies not represented, forwarded petitions accordant with those adopted by the Congress. Opposition to the stamp-act now blazed forth in every quarter. It was disregarded and defied. The colonists betook themselves to domestic manufactures and foreign luxuries were laid aside. In the meanwhile a change had taken place in the British ministry. The stamp-act was taken up in parliament. Dr. Franklin was examined at the bar of the house of commons. Lord Camden in the house of peers and Mr. Pitt in the commons favored a repeal of the act. After taking measures "for securing the dependence of America on Great Britain," parliament repealed the stamp-act, [March, 1766.]

[May, 1765.] A motion had been brought

forward in the Virginia assembly for the establishment of a loan-office. The object was to lend the public money to individuals on landed security. The project was strenuously opposed by Patrick Henry and it failed. It was urged in its favor, that from the unhappy circumstances of the colony, men of fortune had contracted debts, which if exacted suddenly, must ruin them; but with a little indulgence might be liquidated. "What, sir!" exclaimed Mr. Henry, "is it proposed then to reclaim the spend-thrift from his dissipation and extravagance by filling his pockets with money?" At the session of 1766, Mr. John Robinson, who for many years had held the joint offices of Speaker and Treasurer, being now dead, an enormous defalcation was discovered in his accounts. A motion to separate the two offices, supported by Mr. Henry, proved successful. Peyton Randolph was made Speaker and Robert C. Nicholas, Treasurer. The deficit of the late treasurer exceeded one hundred thousand pounds. Mr. Robinson, amiable, liberal and wealthy, had been long at the head of the Virginia aristocracy. He had lent large sums of the public money to friends involved in debt, particularly to members of the assembly, confiding for its replacement upon his own ample property and the securities taken on the loans. At length apprehensive of a discovery of the deficit, he with his friends in the assembly, devised the scheme of the loan-office. The entire amount of the defalcation was however eventually recovered from the estate of Robinson. *

In 1766 was published, at Williamsburg, "An Inquiry into the Rights of the British Colonies," † from the pen of Richard Bland.

* "He resided at Mount Pleasant on the Mataponi in King & Queen county—the house there having been built for him, it is said, by the father of Lucy Moore of Chelsea in King William, one of his wives. A portrait of her when quite young is preserved at Chelsea in the room in which she was married. His portrait is preserved by his descendants. He lies buried in the garden at Mount Pleasant, without a tombstone.

† I am indebted to Dr. Thomas P. Atkinson, of Danville, for the use of a copy of this rare and masterly production. The Title page is as follows. "An Inquiry into the Rights of the British Colonies, Intended as an Answer to The Regulations lately made concerning the Colonies and the Taxes imposed upon them considered. In a letter addressed to the Author of that Pamphlet, by Richard Bland of Virginia. Dedit omnibus Deus pro virili portione sapientiam ut et inaudita investigare possent et audita perpendere. Lactantius. Williamsburg. Printed by Alexander Purdie & Co. MDCCLXVI."

In discussing the question, "whether the Colonies are represented in the British Parliament?" he traces the English Constitution to its Saxon origin, when every freeholder was a member of the Wittenagemote or Parliament. When the custom of representation was introduced, each freeholder had a right to vote at the election of members of parliament. This appears from the Statutes, 1st Hen. 5, and 8th Hen. 6, limiting the elective franchise, depriving many of the right of voting for members of parliament—that is, depriving them of the right of representation in parliament. How could they have been thus deprived, if, as was contended, all the people of England were still virtually represented? Bland acknowledged that a very large portion of the people of Great Britain were not entitled to representation in parliament and were nevertheless bound to obey the laws of the realm, "but then the obligation of these Laws, does not arise from their being virtually represented in parliament." The American colonies, excepting the few planted in the 18th century, were founded by private adventurers, who established themselves without any expense to the nation, in this uncultivated and almost uninhabited country, so that they stand on a different foot from the Roman or any ancient colonies. Men have a natural right to quit their own country and retire to another and set up there an independent government for themselves. But if they have this so absolute a right, they must have the lesser right to remove, by compact with their sovereign, to a new country and to form a civil establishment upon the terms of the compact. The first Virginia charter was granted to Raleigh, by queen Elizabeth, in 1584. By this charter, the new country was granted to him, his heirs and assigns, in perpetual sovereignty, as fully as the crown could grant, with full power of legislation and the establishment of a civil government. The country was to be united to the realm of England in perfect league and amity, was to be within the allegiance of the crown and to be held by homage and the payment of one fifth of all gold and silver ore. In the 31st year of Elizabeth's reign, Sir Walter Raleigh assigned the plantation to a company, who afterwards associating other adventurers with them procured new charters from James I.,

in whom Raleigh's rights became vested upon his attainder. The charter of James was of the same character with that of Elizabeth, with an express clause of exemption forever from all taxation or impost upon their imports or exports. Under this charter and the auspices of the company, the colony of Virginia was settled, after struggling through immense difficulties, and without receiving the least assistance from the British government. In 1621 a civil government was established, consisting of a governor, council and House of Burgesses elected by the freeholders. [1624.] James I. dissolved the company and assumed the control of the colony, which upon his demise devolved upon Charles I., who, [1625,] by proclamation, asserted his royal claim of authority over it. To quiet the dissatisfaction of the colonists, [1634,] the Privy Council communicated the king's assurance, that "all their Estates and Trade, Freedom and Privileges should be enjoyed by them in as extensive a manner as they enjoyed them before the recalling of the company's patent." And Charles I., [1644,] under the royal signet, assured the Virginians that they should always be immediately dependent upon the crown. After the king's death Virginia displayed her loyalty by resisting the parliamentary forces sent out to reduce the colony and by exacting the most honorable terms of surrender. Here the author of the "Inquiry" falls into the common error, that Charles II. was proclaimed in Virginia some time before he was restored to the throne in England.

Thus, proceeds this pamphlet, Virginia was as to her internal affairs, a distinct independent State, but united with the parent State by the closest league and amity and under the same allegiance. If the crown had indeed no prerogative to form such a compact with a colony, then the royal engagements in the Charter, wherein "the Freedom and other benefits of the *British Constitution*" were secured to them, could not be made good. And a people who are liable to taxation without representation, cannot be held to enjoy "the Freedom and benefits of the British Constitution." Even in the arbitrary reign of Charles II., when it was thought necessary to establish a permanent revenue for the support of the govern-

ment in Virginia, the king did not apply to the English parliament, but to the General Assembly of Virginia, and sent over an act under the great seal, by which it was enacted “By the king’s most Excellent Majesty, by and with the consent of the General Assembly,” &c. After the Restoration indeed the colonies lost the freedom of trade that they had before enjoyed. The Navigation Act, of 25th Charles II., not only circumscribed the trade of the colonies with foreign nations within very narrow limits, but imposed duties on goods manufactured in the colonies and exported from one to another. The right to impose these duties was disputed by Virginia, and her Agents, [April, 1676,] procured a declaration from Charles II. under his privy seal, that “Taxes ought not to be laid upon the Inhabitants and Proprietors of the Colony, but by the common consent of the General Assembly, except such Impositions as the parliament should lay on the commodities imported into *England* from the colony.” But if no protest had been made against the monopolizing injustice of the Navigation Act, that forbearance could in no way justify an additional act of injustice. If the people of the Colonies had in patience endured the oppressions of the English commercial restrictions, could that endurance afford any ground for new oppressions in the shape of direct taxes? If the people of England and of the colonies stood, as was contended, on the same foot, being both equally and alike subjects of the British Government, why was the trade of the colonies subject to restrictions not imposed on the mother country? If parliament had a right to lay taxes of every kind on the colonies, the commerce of the colonies ought to be as free as that of England, “otherwise it will be loading them with Burthens at the same time that they are deprived of strength to sustain them; it will be forcing them to make Bricks without Straw.” When colonies are deprived of their natural rights, resistance is at once justifiable; but when deprived of their civil rights, when great oppressions are imposed upon them, their remedy is, “to lay their complaints at the Foot of the Throne and to suffer patiently rather than disturb the publick Peace, which nothing but a Denial of Justice can excuse them in breaking.” But a colony “treated with

Injury and Violence, is become an Alien. They were not sent out to be slaves, but to be the equals of those that remain behind.” It was a great error in the supporters of the British Ministry, to count upon the sectional jealousies and clashing interests of the colonies. Their real interests were the same, and they would not allow minor differences to divide them, when the closest union was become necessary to maintain in a constitutional way their dearest rights. How was England to prevent this union? Was it by quartering armed soldiers in their families? by depriving the colonists of legal trials in the courts of common law? or by harassing them by tax-gatherers and prerogative judges and inquisitorial courts? A petty people united in the cause of Liberty is capable of glorious actions—such as adorn the annals of Switzerland and Holland. The revenue accruing to England from the trade of the colonies far exceeded the expense of their protection.

Francis Fauquier, Lieutenant Governor, died, [1767,] at the age of 65 years, ten of which he had passed in Virginia. He was generous and elegant, an accomplished scholar and a man of great abilities. He was, however, excessively addicted to gaming and by his example extended a disastrous rage for play in the colony. His death devolved the duties of government upon John Blair, president of the council.

[1714.] Some English emigrant Baptists settled in the South East part of Virginia. Another party from Maryland settled, [1743,] in the North West. But the most important accession came from New England, about the period of “the New Light Stir.” Those who had left the established church were called Separates; the rest, Regulars. Their preachers, not unfrequently illiterate men, were characterised by an impassioned manner, vehement gesticulation, and a singular tone of voice. The hearers often gave way to tears, trembling, screams and acclamations. The number of converts increased rapidly in some counties. The preachers were frequently imprisoned and whipped by magistrates and mobs. Persecution, however, only stimulated their zeal and redoubled their influence. The incarcerated preachers addressed crowds congregated before the windows of the jails. [1768.] John

Blair, deputy governor, wrote the following letter, addressed to the king's attorney in the county of Spotsylvania :

“ Sir,

I lately received a letter signed by a good number of worthy gentlemen, who are not here, complaining of the Baptists ; the particulars of their misbehavior are not told, any further than their running into private houses and making dissensions. Mr. Craig and Mr. Benjamin Waller are now with me and deny the charge ; they tell me they are willing to take the oaths, as others have : I told them I had consulted the attorney general, who is of opinion that the general court only have a right to grant licenses and therefore I referred them to the court ; but on their application to the attorney general, they brought me his letter advising me to write to you that their petition was a matter of right and that you may not molest these conscientious people, so long as they behave themselves in a manner becoming pious christians and in obedience to the laws, till the court, when they intend to apply for license and when the gentlemen who complain may make their objections and be heard. The act of toleration, (it being found by experience, that persecuting dissenters increases their numbers) has given them a right to apply in a proper manner, for licensed houses for the worship of God according to their consciences and I persuade myself the gentlemen will quietly overlook their meetings till the court. I am told they administer the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper near the manner we do and differ in nothing from our church, but in that of baptism and their renewing the ancient discipline, by which they have reformed some sinners and brought them to be truly penitent ; nay if a man of theirs is idle and neglects to labour and provide for his family as he ought, he incurs their censures, which have had good effects. If this be their behavior, it were to be wished we had some of it among us ; but at least I hope all may remain quiet till the court.” This letter was dated at Williamsburg, July 16th, 1768.

While many of the Baptist preachers were men of exemplary character, yet by the facility of admission into their pulpits, impostors not unfrequently brought scandal upon the name of religion. Schisms, too, repeat-

edly interrupted the harmony of the Baptist associations. Nevertheless, by the striking earnestness and the pious example of many of them, the Baptists gained ground rapidly in Virginia. In their efforts to avail themselves of the toleration act, they found Patrick Henry ready to step forward in their behalf and he remained through life their unwavering friend. They yet cherish his memory with fond gratitude. The growth of dissent in Virginia was accelerated by the extremely defective character of the established clergy of that day. The Baptists having suffered much persecution under the establishment were of all others the most inimical to it and afterwards the most active in its subversion. *

The news of the repeal of the Stamp Act was joyfully welcomed in America. It had averted the horrors of a civil war. But the joy of the colonists was premature ; for simultaneously with the repeal, parliament had declared that “ it had and of right ought to have power to bind the colonies in all cases whatsoever.” [1767.] Charles Townshend, afterwards Chancellor of the Exchequer, brought into parliament a bill to levy duties in the colonies on glass, paper, painters' colors and tea. The bill became a law. The duties were external and did not exceed in amount twenty thousand pounds ; but the colonies suspected the mildness of the measure to be only a lure to inveigle them into the net. The new act was to take effect on the 20th of November, 1767. Resistance smothered for a time by the repeal of the stamp-act now burst forth afresh. Associations were everywhere organized to defeat the odious duties ; altercations between the people and the king's officers grew frequent ; the passions of the conflicting parties were exasperated. Two British regiments and some armed vessels arrived at Boston.

In Virginia the assembly encountering no opposition from the mild and patriotic Blair, remonstrated loudly against the new oppressions. Opposition to the arbitrary measures of Britain broke forth in that kingdom and in London the fury of civil discord shook the pillars of the government. Meanwhile Lord Botetourt, † just emerging from a corrupt

* Semple's Hist. of Va. Baptists, pp. 1, 16, 24. Hawks, p. 120.

† Norborne Berkley, Baron of Botetourt.

and abortive intrigue, arrived in Virginia Governor-in-chief. [May 11th, 1769,] the assembly was convened. The new governor rode upon that occasion to the capitol in a state coach, (a present from George III,) drawn by six milk-white horses and the insignia of Vice-royalty were pompously displayed. The pageant intended to dazzle served only to offend. In February parliament had advised his majesty to take energetic measures against the colonies and he had heartily concurred in those views. Upon receiving intelligence of this the burgesses of Virginia again passed resolutions vindicating the rights of the colonies. An address was also prepared to be laid before the king. Botetourt took alarm and on the following day, the 18th of May, having convoked the assembly in the council chamber, addressed them as follows: "Mr. Speaker and gentlemen of the house of burgesses, I have heard of your resolves and augur ill of their effects. You have made it my duty to dissolve you and you are dissolved accordingly." An unpleasant communication could not have been more gracefully worded. The burgesses immediately repaired in a body to a private house and unanimously adopted a non-importation agreement, draughted by George Mason and presented by George Washington. [9th of May, 1769.] The king in his speech to parliament re-echoed their determination to enforce the laws in every part of his dominions. May 13th of the same month, the earl of Hillsborough, Secretary of State for the colonies, wrote to Botetourt, assuring him that it was not the intention of his majesty's ministers to propose any further taxes upon America and that they intended to propose a repeal of the duties on glass, paper and paints, upon the ground that those duties had been imposed contrary to the true principles of commerce. Botetourt convening the assembly, communicated these assurances, adding: "it is my firm opinion that the plan I have stated to you will certainly take place and that it will never be departed from and so determined am I to abide by it, that I will be content to be declared infamous, if I do not to the last hour of my life, at all times, in all places and upon all occasions, exert every power with which I am or ever shall be legally invested in order to obtain and maintain for the con-

tinent of America, that satisfaction which I have been authorized to promise this day by the confidential servant of our gracious sovereign, who to my certain knowledge rates his honor so high, that he would rather part with his crown than preserve it by deceit." The house answered this address in warm terms of loyal gratitude and confidence. The estimable Botetourt died, [15th of October, 1770,] in his 53rd year and after an administration of two years. Promoted to the peerage, [1764,] he had succeeded Amherst as Governor-in-chief, [1768,] and was the first since Lord Culpepper who condescended to come to the colony. On his arrival he designed to reduce the Virginians to submission, either by persuasion or by force; but when he became better acquainted with the people, he changed his views and urgently entreated the ministry to repeal the offensive taxes. Such a promise was held out to him; but finding himself deceived by a perfidious ministry, he demanded his recall and died shortly after of a bilious fever exacerbated by chagrin and disappointment. He was a patron of learning and the arts, giving out of his own purse silver and gold medals as prizes to the students of William and Mary College. The assembly erected a statue in his honor which is still standing.* His death was deeply lamented by the colony. The administration devolved upon William Nelson, president of the Council. The assembly met [18th of July, 1771.] A project was now agitated by some of the Virginia clergy to introduce an American episcopate. The movement was headed by Rev. John Cannm. But the assembly having expressed its disapprobation of the measure and being urged but by few and resisted by some of the clergy, it fell to the ground. The scheme had been entertained for more than a hundred years before and it was at one time proposed to make Dr. Swift bishop of Virginia, with power to ordain priests and deacons for all the colonies and to parcel them out into deaneries, parishes, chapels, &c., and to recommend and present thereto.† [May, 1771,] a great fresh occurred in Virginia. The James river in three days rose twenty

* In front of the College of William and Mary.

† Swift writing to Wm. Hunter in 1708-9 says: "So that all my hopes now terminate in my bishoprick of Virginia." See Swift's works, vol. 12, p. 110.

feet higher than ever known before. The low grounds were everywhere inundated, standing crops destroyed, corn, fences, chattels, merchandise, cattle and houses carried off and ships forced from their moorings. Many of the inhabitants, master and slave, in endeavoring to save property, or to escape from danger, were drowned. Houses were seen drifting down the current, and people clinging to them uttering fruitless cries for succor. Fertile fields were covered with a thick deposite of sand. Islands were torn to pieces, bars accumulated, the channel diverted and the face of Nature altered.* The number of inhabitants drowned was estimated at not less than 150. Lord Dunmore † [1772] was transferred from the government of New York to that of Virginia. [1770.] All the duties on articles imported into America, had been repealed, save that on tea. The American merchants refused to import that herb from England. Consequently a large stock of it was accumulated in the warehouses of the East India Company. The government now authorized the company to ship it to America free from any export duty. The light import duty payable in America, being far less than that from which it was exempt in England, it was taken for granted that the tea would sell more readily in the colony than before it had been made a source of revenue. The tea-ships arrived in America; measures were taken to prevent the landing of the cargoes. At Boston the tea was thrown overboard into the sea. Not a single chest was sold in America for the benefit of the East India Company. Not long after, the port of Boston was shut, by act of Parliament, and a series of vigorous measures was enforced in order to reduce the colony of Massachusetts Bay to submission. [March, 1773.] The Virginia assembly originated the system of committees of correspondence between the legislatures of colonies. This scheme was

suggested by Richard Henry Lee.* The committee appointed for Virginia were Peyton Randolph, Robert C. Nicholas, Richard Bland, Richard Henry Lee, Benjamin Harrison, Edmund Pendleton, Patrick Henry, Dudley Digges, Dabney Carr, Archibald Cary and Thomas Jefferson. Mr. Carr though young was an advocate second in eloquence only to Patrick Henry, and promised to become no less distinguished as a statesman, but died shortly after, greatly regretted. [May, 1774.] The assembly upon receiving intelligence of the occlusion of the port of Boston, set apart the 1st of June as a fast day. On the next day Dunmore dissolved the house. The eighty-nine burgesses repaired immediately to the Raleigh tavern and in the room called "the Apollo," † adopted resolutions against the use of tea and other East India commodities and recommending the convening of another congress. Further news being received from Boston some days after, twenty-five burgesses, among whom was Washington, remained in Williamsburg, — held a meeting [May 29th] and issued a circular recommending a meeting of deputies in a convention to be held at Williamsburg, [August 1st.] The convention met accordingly. A new and more thorough non-importation association was subscribed. Peyton Randolph, Richard Henry Lee, George Washington, Patrick Henry, Richard Bland, Benjamin Harrison and Edmund Pendleton, were appointed delegates to Congress. The session lasted only six days.

* Wirt attributes the suggestion to Dabney Carr; others to Mr. Jefferson. Lee appears, however, to have first conceived the plan in Virginia, and Samuel Adams as early in Massachusetts.

† The Raleigh is upwards of 100 years old. There is a bust of Sir Walter Raleigh in front of the house. One of its apartments, "the Apollo," was the ball-room of the metropolis. It appears from the records of York county, that [August 2nd, 1708.] the Feoffees of Williamsburg sold lot No. 54, on which the Raleigh tavern was afterwards erected, to Richard Bland, for 15 shillings. [1712.] This lot was owned by John Sarjanton, who sold it to Daniel Blewit for £25. [1715.] Thomas Jones appears to have been proprietor of it. [1742.] John Blair sold lot on North side of Duke of Gloucester street, for "Subscription Ordinary," to John Dixon, David Meade, Patrick Barclay, Alexander McKenzie and James Murray, for £250. [1749.] McKenzie & Co., sold the "Raleigh Tavern" to John Chiswell and George Gilmer for £700. [1763.] John Robinson & Co., executors of George Gilmer, sold the same to William Trebell. [1767.] Trebell sold the Raleigh tavern and 20 acres of land to Anthony Hay. [1771.] John Greenhow & Co., executors of Hay, for £2,000, sold the tavern and 20 and a half acres of land to James Southall.

* Scot's (Edinburgh) Mag. for July 1771, and Va. Gazette for May 1771. At Turkey Island, (which however is not an island,) on the James River,—the original seat of the Virginia Randolphs, there is a monument bearing the following inscription: "The foundations of this pillar was laid in the calamitous year 1771, when all the great rivers of this Country were swept by inundations, never before experienced, which changed the face of Nature and left traces of their violence that will remain for ages."

+ John Murray Earl of Dunmore.

[September 4th, 1774.] The old continental congress met at Carpenter's Hall in Philadelphia. Peyton Randolph, of Virginia, was chosen president. Patrick Henry was the first to break the silence of the assembly. His speech satisfied all, that he was the greatest orator, not only in Virginia, but in America. He was "Shakspeare and Garrick combined." He was followed by Richard Henry Lee, in whom genius, learning, virtue and patriotism were happily united. Although he had applied for the office of collector of the Stamp Duty, yet he became one of the earliest and most active opponents of it, and the county of Westmoreland, where his influence was felt, claims the honor of having led the way in organized opposition.* As Patrick Henry was reckoned the Demosthenes of America, so Richard Henry Lee was acknowledged to be the Cicero. It was soon discovered, however, that while Henry towered supereminent in oratory,—yet in composition and in the routine of actual business, he was surpassed by many. The congress adjourned in October. Mr. Henry, on his return home, being asked "who was the greatest man in congress?" replied, "if you speak of eloquence, Mr. Rutledge, of South Carolina, is by far the greatest *orator*; but if you speak of solid information and sound judgment, Colonel Washington is unquestionably the greatest *man* on that floor." Dickinson of Pennsylvania composed the petition to the king and the address to the inhabitants of Quebec; Jay, of New York, the address to the people of Great Britain, and Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia, the memorial to the inhabitants of the British colonies.

It had long been a custom in Virginia to form independent companies for military discipline. Several of these now solicited Col. Washington to take command of them. He consented. In the apprehension of war all eyes involuntarily turned to him as the first military character in the colony.

[April, 1774.] Some hostilities occurred between the Indians and the whites, on the frontier of Virginia. On which side these outrages commenced, was a matter of dispute. The whites, however, were probably

the aggressors. An Indian war being apprehended, Governor Dunmore appointed General Andrew Lewis, of Botetourt county, to the command of the Southern division of the forces, volunteer and militia, raised for the occasion in Botetourt, Augusta and the adjoining counties, East of the Blue Ridge; while his lordship in person took command of those levied in the Northern counties, Frederick, Dunmore, (now Shenandoah,) and the adjacent counties. According to the plan of the campaign, Lewis was to march to Point Pleasant, (where the great Kanawha empties into the Ohio,) there to be joined by the Governor. About the 1st of September, 1774, the troops placed under command of Gen'l Lewis, rendezvoused at Camp Union,* (now Lewisburg,) and they consisted of two regiments, commanded by Colonel William Fleming, of Botetourt, and Colonel Charles Lewis, of Augusta, and each containing about four hundred men. At Camp Union they were joined by an independent volunteer company, under Col. John Field, of Culpepper, a company from Bedford, under Col. Buford, and two companies from the Holstein Settlement, (now Washington county,) under Captains Evan Shelby and Harbert. These three latter companies were part of the forces to be led on by Col. Christian, who was to join the troops at Point Pleasant, as soon as his regiment should be completed. [September 11th.] General Lewis, with eleven hundred men commenced his march. The route lay through a wilderness. The division was piloted by Capt. Matthew Arbuckle. The flour, ammunition and camp equipage, were transported on pack-horses; bullocks were driven in the rear of the little army. After a march of nineteen days, during which they proceeded 160 miles, they reached Point Pleasant, [Sept. 30th,] the angle formed by the junction of the great Kanawha, ("the river of woods,") with the beautiful Ohio. The ground of the encampment is high and strong, and commands an extensive and picturesque prospect. Dunmore failing to join Lewis here, he sent out runners towards Fort Pitt, in quest of him. But before their return, an express from the governor reached Point Pleasant, [October 9th,] ordering Lewis

* See in Southern Lit. Messenger, vol. 8, p. 257, the Westmoreland Association, dated February 27, 1766, of which Richard Henry Lee is the first subscriber.

* Col. Stewart, in his account of the Indian Wars, calls it Fort Savannah.

to march for the Chillicothe towns and there join him. Preparations were immediately made for crossing the Ohio, but on the morning of the following day, Monday, [October 10th, 1774,] two soldiers, starting from the camp on a hunting excursion, proceeded up the bank of the Ohio. When they had gone about two miles, they came upon a large body of Indians just rising from their encampment and who firing killed one of them; the other escaping unhurt, running rapidly back to the camp, reported that "he had seen a body of the enemy covering four acres of ground as closely as they could stand by the side of each other." It was the famous chief, Cornstalk, at the head of an army of Delawares, Mingoes, Cayugas, Wyandots and Shawnees. But for the hunter's intelligence, they would have surprized the camp of the Provincials. General Lewis upon learning the enemy's approach, lit his pipe and immediately sent forward the main body of his army, a detachment of Augusta troops, under his brother, Col. Charles Lewis, and another of Botetourt troops, under Col. Fleming. The General with the reserve, remained for the defence of the camp. The advanced corps formed in two lines, moved forward about four hundred yards, when they met the enemy arrayed in the same order. The action commenced a little after sunrise, by a heavy firing from the Indians. The two armies extended at right angles to the Ohio, through the woods to Crooked Creek, which empties into the great Kanawha a little above its mouth. In a short time, Col. Charles Lewis being mortally wounded* and Col. Fleming severely, their troops gave way and retreated towards the camp until met by a reinforcement under Col. Field, when they rallied and maintained their ground. The engagement now became general and was sustained with obstinate valor on both sides. The Provincials being thus hemmed in between the two rivers, with the Indian line of battle in front, General Lewis employed the troops from the more Eastern parts of the colony and who were less experienced in Indian fighting, in throwing up a breast-

work of the boughs and trunks of trees across the angle made by the Kanawha and the Ohio. About 12 o'clock, the Indian fire began to slacken and the enemy slowly and reluctantly gave way, being driven back less than two miles in six or seven hours. A desultory fire was still kept up from behind trees, and the whites as they pressed on the retreating foe, were repeatedly ambuscaded. At length General Lewis detached three companies, commanded by Capt. Isaac Shelby, George Matthews and John Stuart, with orders to move secretly along the banks of the Kanawha and Crooked Creek, so as to gain the rear of the enemy. This manœuvre being successfully executed, the savages at 4 o'clock, P. M. fled, and during the night recrossed the Ohio. The loss of the whites in this battle, has been variously estimated at from 40 to 75 killed, and 140 wounded, a large proportion of the whole number of the troops actually engaged, who did not exceed 550. One hundred of Lewis' men, including his best marksmen, were absent in the woods hunting and knew nothing of the battle until it was all over. Among the killed were Col. Charles Lewis, Col. Field, who had served in Braddock's war, Captains Buford, Morrow, Murray, Ward, Cundiff, Wilson and McClenaghan; Lieuts. Allen, Goldsby and Dillon, and several other subalterns.* The loss of the savages was never ascertained. The bodies of 33 slain were found, but many had been thrown into the Ohio during the action.

The number of the Indian army was not known, but it comprised the flower of the northern confederated tribes, led on by Redhawk, a Delaware chief; Scoppathus, a Mingo; Chiyawee, a Wyandot; Logan, a Cayuga, and Ellinipsico and his father, Cornstalk, Shawnees. Cornstalk displayed great skill and

* Among the officers in the battle of Point Pleasant were Gen. Isaac Shelby, the first governor of Kentucky and afterwards Secretary of War; General William Campbell, the hero of King's Mountain and Col. John Campbell, who distinguished himself at Long Island; Gen. Evan Shelby, who became an eminent citizen of Tennessee; Col. William Fleming, a revolutionary patriot; Gen. Andrew Moore, United States Senator from Virginia; Col. John Stewart of Greenbrier; General Tate of Washington County, Virginia; Col. William McKee of Kentucky; Col. John Steele, Governor of the Mississippi Territory; Col. Charles Cameron, of Bath; General Bazaleel Wells, of Ohio; and General George Matthews, who distinguished himself at Brandywine, Germantown, and Guilford, and was a Governor of Georgia and an United States Senator from that State.

* This gallant and estimable officer, when struck by the fatal ball, fell at the foot of a tree, when he was against his own wish carried to his tent by Capt. Morrow and a private and died in a few hours. His loss was deeply lamented.

courage; when one of his warriors evinced a want of firmness in his action, he slew him with one blow of his tomahawk, and during the day his voice could be heard above the din of arms, exclaiming in his native tongue, "be strong, be strong."

After the battle, General Lewis having buried the dead of his own troops and made provision for the wounded, erected a small fort at Point Pleasant and leaving a garrison there, marched to overtake Lord Dunmore, who, with a thousand men, lay entrenched near the Shawnee towns on the banks of the Scioto. The Indians having sued to him for peace, his lordship having determined to make a treaty with them, sent orders to Lewis to halt, (or according to others,) to return to Point Pleasant. Lewis, however, suspecting the governor's good faith, and finding himself threatened by a superior force of Indians who hovered in his rear, disregarding Dunmore's order, advanced to within three miles of the Governor's camp. His lordship, accompanied by the Indian chief, White-Eyes, now visited the camp of Lewis and he (according to some relations) with difficulty restrained his men from killing the Governor and his Indian companion. General Lewis now, to his great chagrin, received orders to return home with his division. This order was reluctantly obeyed. General Andrew Lewis resided on the Roanoke, in the county of Botetourt. He was one of six sons of John Lewis, the early pioneer of Augusta county. In Braddock's war, he was in a company, in which were all his brothers, the eldest, Samuel Lewis, being the captain of it. This company displayed great courage at Braddock's defeat. Major Andrew Lewis was made prisoner at Grant's defeat, where he exhibited extraordinary prudence and courage. He was twice wounded at the capture of Fort Necessity and was subsequently a meritorious officer during the revolutionary war. Gen. Lewis was upwards of six feet high, of uncommon strength and agility, and of a form of exact symmetry. His countenance was stern and invincible, his deportment reserved and distant. He was a commissioner with Dr. Thomas Walker on behalf of Virginia, at the Treaty of Fort Stanwix, in New York, [1768.] It was then that the governor of New York remarked of him, that

"the earth seemed to tremble under him as he walked along." *

Dunmore remaining, concluded a treaty † with the Indians. Upon this occasion Cornstalk, in a long speech, charged the whites with having provoked the war. His tones of thunder resounded over a camp of twelve acres. Logan, the Cayuga chief, assented to the treaty, but still indignant at the murder of his family, refused to attend with the other chiefs at the camp. He sent his speech in a wampum-belt by an interpreter. "I appeal to any white man to say, if ever he entered Logan's cabin hungry and he gave him not meat; if ever he came cold and naked and he clothed him not. During the course of the last long and bloody war, Logan remained idle in his cabin an advocate for peace. Such was my love for the whites that my countrymen pointed as they passed and said, 'Logan, is the friend of the white men.' I had even thought to have lived with you but for the injuries of one man. Col. Cresap the last Spring in cold blood and unprovoked murdered all the relations of Logan not even sparing my women and children. There runs not a drop of my blood in the veins of any living creature. This called on me for revenge. I have sought it; I have killed many: I have fully glutted my vengeance. For my country I rejoice at the beams of peace. But do not harbor a thought that mine is the joy of fear. Logan never felt fear. He will not turn on his heel to save his life. Who is there to mourn for Logan? Not one." ‡

* Howe's Historical Collections of Virginia, pp. 361, 366, 204, 205. Dr. Campbell's Memoir in Appendix.

† According to Col. A. Lewis of Montgomery, there was no treaty effected till the following Spring. See Memoir in Appendix.

‡ Logan's family had indeed been massacred by a party of whites in retaliation for some Indian murders, but the charge against Cresap appears to have been unfounded. Mr. Jefferson gave implicit credit to the authenticity of this speech. See Appendix to Notes on Virginia. Doddridge, in Kercheval, is of the same opinion. Jacob, in the same work, insinuates that the speech was a counterfeit and insists that if genuine, it was false in its statements, and that Cresap was as humane as brave and had no hand in the death of Logan's family, and adds that in the original speech Cresap was not named. The first sentence of the speech in part, closely resembles a Scriptural expression in St. Matthew, c. 25, v. 35-36. Logan was a half-breed. He died a son.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

1774—1776.

Suspicious entertained against Dunmore; Daniel Boone; Kentucky; Second Virginia Convention; Patrick Henry's Speech; Thomas Jefferson; Dunmore removes the Gunpowder from the Magazine; Disturbances at Williamsburg; Henry recovers compensation for the Powder; Mecklenburg North Carolina Declaration of Independence. Further commotions at Williamsburg; Dunmore retires aboard the Fowey; Washington appointed Commander-in-Chief; Convention meets at Richmond; Dunmore's predatory war; Affair of the Great Bridge; Norfolk Burnt; Indignity offered Henry; He retires from the Army; Pendleton; Miscellaneous affairs; Declaration of Independence; Wythe; Richard Henry Lee; Francis Lightfoot Lee.

Suspicious were not wanting that the frontier had been embroiled in this Indian war by the machinations of Dunmore, and that his ultimate object was to secure an alliance with the savages, to aid England in the expected contest with the colonies. These suspicions were strengthened by his equivocal conduct during the campaign. He was also suspected of fomenting the boundary altercations between Pennsylvania and Virginia on the North-Western frontier with the same sinister views. It is probable, however, that his lordship in this particular was prompted rather by motives of personal interest than of political manœuvre.* And the assembly upon his return to Williamsburg, gave him a vote of thanks for his good conduct of the war, a compliment however which it was afterwards doubted whether he had merited. To say the least, his motives in that campaign are involved in uncertainty. There is a curious coincidence between the administration of Dunmore and that of Sir William Berkeley, in relation to Indian war and in other particulars.

[May, 1769.] Daniel Boone resigning domestic happiness, left his family and peace-

ful home on the bank of the Yadkin river, in North Carolina, "to wander through the wilderness of America in quest of the country of Kentucky." In this exploration of the unknown regions of Western Virginia, he was accompanied by five companions. June 7th, reaching Red river, they beheld from an eminence an extensive prospect of "the beautiful level of Kentucky." Encamping they began to hunt and reconnoitre the country. Innumerable buffalo browsed on the leaves of the cane, or pastured on the herbage of the plains, or lingered on the borders of the salt "lick." [December 22nd.] Boone and a comrade, John Stuart, rambling in the magnificence of forests yet unscarred by the axe, were surprised by a party of Indians and captured. Meeting this catastrophe with a resolute mien of indifference, they contrived to effect their escape in the night. Returning to their camp they found it plundered and deserted. The fate of its occupants could not be doubted. A brother of Boone, with another hardy adventurer, shortly after overtook the two forlorn survivors. Stuart not long afterwards was slain by the savages; the companion of Boone's brother, by wolves. The two brothers remained in a howling wilderness untrod by the white man, surrounded by perils and far from the reach of succor. With unshaken fortitude they continued to hunt, and erected a rude cabin to shelter them from the storms of winter. When threatened by the approach of savages, the brothers lay during the night concealed in swamps. [May 1st, 1770.] Says Boone, "my brother returned home for a new recruit of horses and ammunition, leaving me alone, without bread, salt or sugar, or even a horse or a dog." In one of his solitary excursions made at this time, after wandering during the whole day through scenes teeming with natural charms that dispelled every gloomy thought, "just at the close of day the gentle gales ceased; a profound calm ensued; not a breath shook the tremulous leaf. I had gained the summit of a commanding ridge and looking around with astonishing delight, beheld the ample plains and beauteous tracts below. On one hand I surveyed the famous Ohio, rolling in silent dignity and marking the Western boundary of Kentucky, with inconceivable grandeur. At a vast distance I beheld the mountains lift their venerable

* Dunmore's agent, Conolly, was "locating" large tracts of new lands on the borders of the Ohio. See Jacob's account in Kercheval's History of the Valley. Murray, a grandson of governor Dunmore and Queen's page, visited the United States some years ago, partly, it was said, for the purpose of making enquiry concerning some lands, the title of which was derived from his grandfather. Murray visited some of the old seats on the lower James, and makes mention of them in his pleasing and sensible "Travels in the United States."

brows and penetrate the clouds. All things were still. I kindled a fire near a fountain of sweet water and feasted on the loin of a buck, which I had killed a few hours before. The shades of night soon overspread the hemisphere and the earth seemed to gasp after the hovering moisture. At a distance I frequently heard the hideous yells of savages. My excursion had fatigued my body and amused my mind. I laid me down to sleep and awoke not till the sun had chased away the night." "No populous city, with all its varieties of commerce and stately structures, could afford so much pleasure to my mind as the beauties of nature I found in this country." [July 7th, 1770.] Boone, rejoined by his brother, explored the country to the borders of the Cumberland river. [March, 1771.] Daniel Boone returned to his home on the Yadkin, sold his possessions there, and started with his own and five other families to return and settle in Kentucky, the "Bloody Ground." On the route he was re-inforced by a party of forty men. [October 10th.] In a skirmish with a party of Indians, six of Boone's men were slain—among them his eldest son. This happened in view of the Cumberland mountains—those huge piles, the aspect of whose cliffs "is so wild and horrid that it is impossible to behold them without horror." Until June 6th, 1774, Boone remained with his family on the borders of the Clinch river, when at the request of Governor Dunmore, he went to assist in convoying a party of surveyors to the falls of the Ohio. He was next employed by Dunmore in the command of three garrisons during the campaign against the Shawnees. [March, 1775.] At the solicitation of a number of gentlemen of North Carolina, Boone, at the treaty of Wataga, purchased from the Cherokees the lands on the South side of Kentucky river. After this he undertook to mark out a road in the best passage from the settlement through the wilderness to Kentucky. During this work, he and his men were twice attacked by the Indians. Early in 1775, he erected a fort at Boonsborough, near the Kentucky river. In June, he returned to his family on the Clinch, and removed them to Boonsborough. His wife and daughter were supposed to be the first white women that ever stood upon the banks of the Kentucky river. Boonsborough was long an outpost of civilization.

The second Virginia Convention, met in the church of St. John's, in Richmond, on Monday, the 20th of March, 1775. The proceedings of Congress were approved. Patrick Henry introduced resolutions for putting the colony in a state of defence against the encroachments of Great Britain. Many of the members of the convention recoiled in horror from this startling proposition, and it was strenuously resisted even by some of the warmest patriots, as Bland, Harrison, Pendleton and Nicholas. They held such a step premature, till the result of the last petition to the king should be more fully known. Henry's resolutions were however carried. Washington voted for them. It was on this occasion that Henry made the celebrated speech, in which he exclaimed: "We must fight; I repeat it sir, we must fight!*" An appeal to arms and the God of Hosts, is all that is left us." Measures were taken to promote the culture of wool, cotton, flax and hemp, and to encourage domestic manufactures and the members of the convention agreed to make use of home-made fabrics, and recommended the practice to the people. The former delegates to Congress, were re-elected, with the substitution, however, of Mr. Jefferson in lieu of Peyton Randolph, in case of his non-attendance. Mr. Randolph being speaker of the house of burgesses, did not attend that congress and Mr. Jefferson took his place.

Thomas Jefferson was born at Shadwell, in the county of Albemarle, [April 2nd, 1743.] According to a family tradition, his paternal ancestors came from Wales. His grandfather lived at Osborne's, on the James river, in the county of Chesterfield. Peter (father of Thomas) settled at Shadwell, in the county of Albemarle. He was born February 29th, 1708, and intermarried, [1739,] with Jane Randolph of the age of 19, daughter of Isham Randolph, of Dungeness, in Goochland county. The Randolphs, (says Mr. Jefferson,) "trace their pedigree far back in England and Scotland, to which let every one ascribe the faith and merit he chooses." Peter Jeferson's early education had been

* The expression, "We must fight," was used four months previously, by Major Hawley of Massachusetts, in a letter to Mr. John Adams, which he shewed to Mr. Henry, while they were together in the first congress. 2. Sparks' Writings of Washington, p. 405, citing Tudor's Life of Otis, p. 256.

much neglected, but being a man of strong parts, he read much and so improved himself, that he was chosen, with Joshua Fry, professor of mathematics in William and Mary College, to continue the boundary line (between Virginia and North Carolina) which had been begun by Colonel Byrd, and was afterwards employed with the same Mr. Fry, to make the first regular map of Virginia that was ever made, that of Captain Smith being only a conjectural sketch. Peter Jefferson was the third or fourth settler, about the year 1737, in Goochland county, since known as Albemarle. * Dying [August 17th, 1757,] he left a widow (who survived till 1776) with six daughters and two sons, of which Thomas was the elder. He inherited the lands on which he was born and lived. He was placed at an English school when five years of age, and when nine at a Latin school, where he continued till his father's death. His teacher, Rev. Mr. Douglas, taught him the rudiments of Latin and Greek and the French. At his father's death, young Jefferson was put under the care of Rev. Mr. Maury, a good classical scholar, with whom he continued two years. In the spring of 1760 he went to William and Mary College, where he remained for two years. Dr. William Small, a native of Scotland, was then professor of mathematics, a man of engaging manners, large views and profound science. He shortly after filled for a time the chair of Ethics, Rhetoric and Belles Lettres. He formed a strong attachment for young Jefferson and made him the daily companion of his leisure hours, and it was his conversation that first gave him a bent towards scientific pursuits. Small returned, [1762,] to Europe. Before his departure, he had procured for young Jefferson, from George Wythe, a reception as a student of law under his direction and had also introduced him to the familiar acquaintance of Governor Fauquier, who was esteemed by Mr. Jefferson, as the ablest man that had ever filled that office. At Fauquier's table, Jefferson habitually met Dr. Small and Mr. Wythe, and from the conversation of these eminent men, he derived a great deal of instruction. It was in 1765, as has been seen, while a law-student at Williamsburg,

that he heard the debate on Patrick Henry's Resolutions.

[1767.] Jefferson entered into the practice of the law in the General Court and continued in it until the Revolution closed the courts of justice. [1769.] He became a member of the Assembly for the county of Albemarle and so continued active, ardent and patriotic until its meetings were suspended by the war. He made an unsuccessful effort in that body for the emancipation of the slaves in Virginia. [January 1st, 1772.] He married Martha, widow of Bathurst Skelton, and daughter of John Wayles, a lawyer. She was then only 23 years of age, Her father dying, [May, 1773,] left three daughters. The portion that fell to Martha was about equal to Mr. Jefferson's patrimony. * [1773.] Mr. Jefferson contributed to the formation of Committees of Correspondence between the Colonial Legislatures. [1774.] He was elected member of the Convention, appointed to meet at Williamsburg on the 1st of August ensuing, for the purpose of considering the state of the Colony and to elect delegates to Congress. In the interval before the meeting of the Convention, he prepared a draught of instructions for the Virginia delegates in Congress, in which he took the bold ground that the British parliament had no right whatever to exercise any authority over the Colony of Virginia. These instructions being communicated through the President, Peyton Randolph, to the Convention, were generally read and approved by many, though held too bold for the present. But they printed them in a pamphlet under the title of "A Summary View of the Rights of British America." † This elaborate production displays a

* Memoirs and Correspondence of Jefferson, vol. 1, pp. 1-3.

† To be found in Amer. Archives, (published by Congress,) 4th Series, 1st vol., p. 690. See also 1 Writings of Jefferson, pp. 100-116. The following excerpts are taken from it: "History has informed us, that bodies of men as well as individuals, are susceptible of the spirit of tyranny." "Searcely have our minds been able to emerge from the astonishment into which one stroke of parliamentary thunder has involved us, before another more heavy and more alarming is fallen on us." "The great principles of right and wrong are legible to every reader; to pursue them requires not the aid of many counsellors. The whole art of government consists in the art of being honest; only aim to do your duty and mankind will give you credit where you fail. No longer persevere in sacrificing the rights of one part of the empire to the inordinate desires of another,

* Albemarle was formed 1744, out of part of Goochland, which had been created [1727] from part of Henrico. Martin's Gazetteer of Va., pp. 112-119.

profound knowledge of the history and constitutional rights of the colony. It breathes a fiery spirit of defiance and revolution, and the splendor of elevated declamation in some of its passages is not inferior to Junius. If some of its statements are loose and some of its views erroneous, yet all is bold, acute, luminous and impressive. This pamphlet found its way to England, was taken up by the opposition, interpolated a little by Edmund Burke, so as to make it answer opposition purposes, and in that form it ran through several editions. Owing to his authorship of it, Lord Dunmore it is said threatened Mr. Jefferson with a prosecution for treason, and his name was enrolled in a bill of attainder commenced in one of the houses of parliament, but never consummated. Among the proscribed were Peyton Randolph, John Adams, Samuel Adams, John Hancock and Patrick Henry.

[1775.] The popular commotions increased. The heavings of the ocean betokened a gathering storm. The return of Dunmore from his Indian expedition was soon followed by violence. In compliance with orders received from England, the governor, [20th of April, 1775,] clandestinely, in the night, conveyed the powder from the magazine at Williamsburg, on board the Magdalen man-of-war. Anticipating the people's resentment, he armed his servants and some Shawnee hostages, for the protection of his person. Muskets lay on the palace floor, loaded and primed for the occasion. Peyton Randolph, Robert Carter Nicholas and others, with difficulty restrained the people from assaulting the palace. The common council of Williamsburg, in an address, requested a restoration of the powder. His lordship pretended that its removal was owing to intelligence of a servile insurrection in a neighboring county and gave an ambiguous promise to return the powder. Alarms repeatedly occurred and the patrol of the capital was strengthened. [April 22.] Dunmore sent a message to the city, that if any violence

but deal out to all equal and impartial right. Let no act be passed by any one legislature, which may infringe on the rights and liberties of another." "Accept of every commercial preference it is in our power to give, for such things as we can raise for their use, or they make for ours. But let them not think to exclude us from going to other markets, to dispose of those commodities, which they cannot use, or to supply those wants, which they cannot supply."

should be offered to Capt. Foy, his Secretary, or to Capt. Collins of the Magdalen, he would proclaim freedom to the slaves and lay the town in ashes. Yet neither Foy nor Collins had received any indignity from the inhabitants. Rumors of the removal of the gunpowder and the stripping the muskets in the magazine of their locks, and the threats of the governor spread through the country. The excitement was aggravated by news of the engagements at Lexington and Concord. Independent companies now raised the colors of liberty in every county. [April 27th.] Seven hundred armed men were assembled at Fredericksburg. Troops were collected at the Bowling Green and others on their march from Frederick, Berkeley, Dunmore and other counties were arrested in their course by information that the affair of the gunpowder was about to be accommodated. The Committee of Safety for the county of Hanover recommended that reprisals should be made upon the king's property for the loss of the gunpowder. The volunteers of Hanover met at Newcastle and were harangued by Patrick Henry with such effect, that they resolved to recover the powder or make a reprisal for it.* Captain Samuel Meredith resigned in Mr. Henry's favor and he was invested with the command. Having received orders from the Hanover committee accordant with his own suggestions, Captain Henry marched towards Williamsburg. Ensign Parke Goodall with sixteen men was detached into King & Queen county to Laneville, (on the Mataponi,) the seat of Richard Corbin, the king's deputy receiver-general, to demand from him three hundred and thirty pounds—the estimated value of the powder—and in case of refusal, to make him a prisoner. The detachment reached Laneville about midnight and a guard was stationed around the house. At daybreak, however, Mrs. Corbin assured Goodall that the king's money was never kept there, but at Williamsburg, and that Mr. Corbin was then in that city. The news of Henry's march spread rapidly; on all sides companies started up and were in motion to join his standard. The royalists were dismayed. Even the patriots at Williamsburg were alarmed,

* Burk, vol. 4, p. 13. This volume is a continuation of Burk, by Skelton Jones and Louis Hue Girardin, mainly by the latter. I shall now be frequently indebted to him.

and Henry was strongly solicited to desist from entering Williamsburg. Dunmore had planted cannon at his palace and ordered up a detachment of marines from the Fowey man-of-war, and threatened to fire upon the town as soon as the first of the insurgents should enter it. Henry with one hundred and fifty men halted at Doncastle's tavern, sixteen miles from Williamsburg, and remaining inflexible in effecting his object, [4th of May, 1775,] he received from Corbin full compensation for the powder and so the affair ended. *

Two days after Henry had received compensation for the powder, Dunmore issued a proclamation denouncing a "certain Patrick Henry, Jr., of Hanover, and a number of deluded followers," charging them with extorting £330 from the king's receiver-general and forbidding all persons to aid or abet "the said Patrick Henry, Jr.," or his confederates. The council at this time consisted of President Nelson, Commissary Camm, Ralph Wormley, Col. G. Corbin, G. Corbin, Jr., William Byrd and John Page. They all sided with the Governor except the youngest member, Page. The council had advised the governor to issue the proclamation against Henry, and now published an address in which they expressed their "detestation and abhorrence for that licentious and ungovernable spirit that had gone forth and misled the once happy people of this country." The council now shared the public odium with Dunmore. Henry now proceeded on his way to Congress at Philadelphia, escorted as far as Hooe's ferry on the Potomac, and he was overwhelmed with the thanks and applause of his countrymen. [May 20th, 1775.] A Declaration of Independence was made at Charlotte in the county of Mecklenburg in North Carolina. In the revolutionary excitements that then agitated the people of the colonies, the people of Mecklenburg frequently met at Charlotte, the county seat, to hear the news and to discuss the topics of the day. Colonel Thomas Polk, a surveyor, who had frequently been a member of the colonial assembly, a man of exemplary integrity and extensive popularity, was empowered, by general agreement among

the people, to call a convention whenever he should deem it expedient. The representatives, it was agreed, were to be chosen by the people and the proceedings of the Convention were to be obligatory upon the inhabitants of Mecklenburg. Col. Polk accordingly issued his notice, [May 19th,] and on the following day between twenty and thirty representatives of the people met in the Court-house at Charlotte. A large concourse of people were present on the occasion. Abraham Alexander, a former member of the legislature of North Carolina, a magistrate and elder in the Presbyterian church, was chosen chairman, John McKnight Alexander and Dr. Ephraim Brevard, clerks. Papers were read before the convention and the people and among them a handbill brought by express giving an account of the battle of Lexington in Massachusetts, which had taken place April 19th, just one month before. Rev. Hezekiah James Balch, Dr. Ephraim Brevard and William Kennon, Esq., addressed the convention and the people. The people cried out, "Let us be independent! Let us declare our independence and defend it with our lives and fortunes!" The three speakers were appointed to prepare resolutions. Some drawn up by Dr. Brevard, and read at a political meeting a few days before were submitted to the convention and referred to the committee for revision. Gen. Joseph Graham, then a youth, was present at this meeting. The convention adjourned at midnight. At noon of May 20th, 1775, that body re-assembled. The concourse of people in attendance was not diminished, and many wives and mothers were to be seen anxiously awaiting the event. A series of resolutions was now passed; proclamation was made and from the Court-house steps Col. Thomas Polk read them as follows:—

"Resolved, 1st, That whosoever directly or indirectly abetted, or in any way, form or manner, countenanced the unchartered and dangerous invasion of our rights, as claimed by Great Britain, is an enemy to this country, to America, and to the inherent and unalienable rights of man. Resolved, 2nd, That we the citizens of Mecklenburg county do hereby dissolve the political bonds which have connected us with the mother country and hereby absolve ourselves from

* Col. Carter Braxton was chiefly instrumental in persuading Henry to halt at Doncastle's, and in negotiating the settlement of the affair.

all allegiance to the British crown and abjure all political connection, contract or association with that nation who have wantonly trampled on our rights and liberties—inhumanly shed the blood of American patriots at Lexington. Resolved, 3d, That we do hereby declare ourselves a free and independent people; are and of right ought to be a sovereign and self-governing association under the control of no power other than that of our God and the General Government of the Congress:—to the maintenance of which independence, we solemnly pledge to each other our mutual co-operation, our lives, our fortunes and our sacred honor. Resolved, 4th, That as we acknowledge the existence and control of no law, nor legal office, civil or military within this county, we do hereby ordain and adopt as a rule of life, all, each and every of our former laws; wherein nevertheless the crown of Great Britain never can be considered as holding rights, privileges, immunities or authority therein. Resolved, 5th, That it is further decreed that all, each and every officer in this county is hereby retained in his former command and authority, he acting conformably to these regulations. And that every member present of this delegation shall henceforth be a civil officer, viz: a Justice of the Peace in the character of a Committee-man to issue process, hear and determine all matters of controversy according to said adopted laws and to preserve peace, union and harmony in said county; and to use every exertion to spread the love of country and fire of freedom throughout America, until a general organized Government be established in this province.” *

* There are between the Mecklenburg Declaration and that draughted by Mr. Jefferson, several coincidences of phraseology, that seem quite sufficient to prove that Mr. Jefferson borrowed several expressions from that document. It is true, that after a long interval he made a disclaimer of all knowledge of the Mecklenburg Declaration. It is, however, easy enough to believe that he may have borrowed those phrases in that period of excitement and after the lapse of many years may have entirely forgotten the document to which he was indebted. The following expressions occurring in the Mecklenburg Declaration, are found likewise in the Declaration of Independence, adopted by Congress, July 4th, 1776 1. “Unalienable rights.” The words in the Mecklenburg Declaration are, “inherent and unalienable rights.” So too in Mr. Jefferson’s own original draught, the words used are, “inherent and inalienable rights, the words “inherent and” having been stricken out by the Committee. Mr. Jefferson’s MS. shows that he employed the word *inalienable*, but it is commonly printed “unalienable. 2. “Dissolved

Much commotion had been excited, [May 4th,] by a threat of the Captain of the Fowey, that if the party of marines detached from his ship for the Governor’s protection should be molested, he would fire the town. The excitement, however, blew over and upon the reception of Lord North’s conciliatory proposition, commonly called “the Olive Branch,” Dunmore, by the advice of the council, convened the house of burgesses, and in token of renewed harmony, the amiable Lady Dunmore and her family returned from the Fowey, where they had taken refuge during these disturbances, to the palace. The assembly met on Thursday, the 1st of June. The Governor, in his address, presented Lord North’s proposition. The council’s answer was satisfactory to Dunmore, but before the burgesses could reply, a new explosion occurred. Upon Henry’s approach towards Williamsburg, some of the inhabitants, to the great offence of the graver citizens, had taken possession of some of the few guns remaining in the mag-

the political bonds that have connected.” The only difference as to these words is, that Mr. Jefferson has it “bands,” instead of “bonds.” 3. “Free and independent.” These words, hardly subjects of plagiarism, were apparently adopted by Mr. Jefferson and by the Committee, from the Resolution declaring the Colonies independent, offered by Richard Henry Lee, June 7th, 1776. Mr. Lee appears to have adopted the words from the Resolutions of instruction of the Convention of Virginia, passed May 15th, 1776. 4. The Mecklenburg Declaration says, “absolve ourselves from all allegiance to the British Crown.” The Declaration of July 4th says, “are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown.” This expression was borrowed by Mr. Lee in his Resolution of June 7th, and adopted from Mr. Lee’s Resolution, by the Committee. Mr. Jefferson’s own original draught has it, “renounce all allegiance to the kings of *Great Britain*,” &c. 5. “Are and of right ought to be.” These being customary words in parliamentary declaratory acts, are hardly subjects of plagiarism. They appear however to have been adopted from Mr. Lee’s Resolution, by the Committee. 6. “Abjure all political connection.” The Declaration of July 4th expresses it, “that all political connexion between them and the State of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved.” Mr. Jefferson’s own original draught has it, “we utterly dissolve all political connexion.” 7. “We solemnly pledge to each other, our mutual co-operation, our lives, our fortunes and our sacred honor.” The Declaration of July 4th employs the expression, “We mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.” See 1 Marshall’s Washington, note 6. 1 Jefferson’s Writings, pp. 15 and 21, and fac simile of the MS. Declaration of Independence appended to vol. 4. Jones’ Defence of North Carolina. Jones’ Memorials of North Carolina. Foote’s Sketches of North Carolina, pp. 37 and 38. Hening, vol. 1, pp. 8-32-36. Sou. Lit. Mess., vol. 4, pp. 209-210 212-213. Martin’s Hist. of North Carolina, vol. 2, pp. 372-376.

azine. On the night of Monday, June 5th, a number of persons having assembled at the magazine to furnish themselves with arms, two or three upon entering the door were wounded by spring-guns, placed there by order of the governor. Several barrels of powder were also found buried in the magazine to be used, (it was suspected,) as a mine when occasion should offer. Early on the next morning, June 6th, Lord Dunmore with his family escaped from Williamsburg to return no more and took shelter on board the Fowey. A correspondence that now ensued between him and the assembly resulted in no agreement, and the house after declaring that there was reason to apprehend a dangerous attack upon the people of the colony and that preparations for resistance ought to be made and still expressing an anxious desire for harmony with the mother country, at length adjourned. The delegates were summoned at the same time to meet in convention at Richmond.

[17th of June, 1775.] On the occasion of this adjournment, Richard Henry Lee, standing with two other burgesses in the portico of the capitol, wrote with his pencil on a pillar these lines:—

“ When shall we three meet again,
In thunder, lightning and in rain?
When the hurly-burly’s done,
When the battle’s lost and won.”*

[June 25th.] Shortly after Dunmore’s flight, a party of twenty-four persons removed a quantity of arms from the palace to the magazine.† The governor had been requested to authorize the removal and had refused. Nightly watches were now established in Williamsburg, and measures were taken to protect the place against surprise. The neighboring counties contributed men for this purpose. June 29th, the Magdalen schooner sailed from York, with lady Dunmore and the rest of the governor’s family, for England. The Magdalen was convoyed to the capes by the Fowey. This ship was soon after relieved by the Mercury, of 24

guns. The governor’s domestics now abandoned the palace and removed to Porto-Bello, the governor’s seat, about six miles from Williamsburg. Dunmore took up his station at Portsmouth.

[14th of June, 1775.] George Washington was unanimously elected by congress, commander-in-chief of the armies of the United Colonies. Impressed with a profound sense of the responsibility of the trust, he accepted it, declining all compensation for his services and avowing an intention to keep an account of his expenses, which he should rely on congress to discharge. He took command of the army, near Boston, July 3rd.*

On Monday, the 24th of July, 1775, the convention met at Richmond. Measures were taken for raising two regiments of regular troops for one year, and to enlist part of the militia as minute-men. A committee of safety was organized to take charge of the executive duties of the colony. The committee consisted of eleven gentlemen, Edmund Pendleton, George Mason, John Page, Richard Bland, Thomas Ludwell Lee, Paul Carrington, Dudley Digges, William Cabell, Carter Braxton, James Mercer and John Tabb. Patrick Henry was elected Colonel of the first regiment and commander of all the forces raised and to be raised for the defence of the colony. William Woodford, who had served meritoriously in the French and Indian war, was appointed to the command of the second regiment. Troops were rapidly recruited.

[20th of September.] Col. Henry selected an encampment in the rear of the College of William & Mary.

[October 22nd, 1775.] Died suddenly of an apoplexy, at Philadelphia, Peyton Randolph,† aged 52 years. Descended from an

* [June 26th, 1775.] Mr. Jefferson was added to a committee of congress, appointed to draw up a declaration of the causes of taking up arms. He prepared a declaration, but it proving too strong for Mr. Dickinson, of Pennsylvania, he was indulged in preparing a far tamer statement, which was however accepted by Congress. “ The disgust against its humility was general, and Mr. Dickinson’s delight at its passage, was the only circumstance which reconciled them to it. The vote being passed, although further observation on it was out of order, he could not refrain from rising and expressing his satisfaction, and concluded by saying, ‘ there is but one word, Mr. President, in the paper, which I disapprove, and that is the word *Congress*.’ On which Ben. Harrison rose and said, ‘ there is but one word in the paper, Mr. President, of which I approve, and that is the word *Congress*.’ ” 1. Writings of Jefferson, p. 9.

† The progenitor of the Randolphs of Virginia, was William of Yorkshire, England, who settled at Turkey

* Wirt’s Life of Henry, p. 157.

† Bland Papers, vol. 1, p. xxiii, where the names of the party may be found; among them were Theodorick Bland, Jr., Richard Kidder Meade, Benjamin Harrison, Jr., of Berkley, and James Monroe. John Carter Littlepage was active among the patriots at Williamsburg.

ancient, wealthy and influential family, he was the second son of Sir John Randolph, knight, and Susan Beverley, his wife. Peyton Randolph being bred to the law was, [1756,] appointed King's Attorney for the colony of Virginia, and held that office for many years. [1766.] He was elected speaker of the House of Burgesses, and [1773] a member of the committee of correspondence. [March 20th, 1774.] He was unanimously chosen President of the first Convention of Virginia, which met at Williamsburg. August 11th of the same year, he was appointed by the Convention one of the delegates to the Congress, which assembled at Philadelphia, [Sept. 4, 1774,] and was unanimously elected President of that august body.

Dunmore in the mean time, joined by a

Island, on the James river. He was a nephew of Thomas Randolph, the Poet. William married Mary Isham, of Bermuda Hundred. Several of their sons were men of distinction: William was a member of the Council and Treasurer of the Colony. Isham was a member of the House of Burgesses, from Goochland, 1740, and Adjutant General of the Colony. Richard was a member of the House of Burgesses, 1740, for Henrico, and succeeded his brother as Treasurer. Sir John was Speaker of the House of Burgesses and Attorney General.

Peter, son of the 2nd William Randolph, was Clerk of the House of Burgesses and Attorney General. Peyton, brother of John, was Speaker of the House of Burgesses and President of the first Congress held at Philadelphia. Thomas Mann Randolph, great grandson of William, of Turkey Island, was a member of the Virginia Convention, 1775, from Goochland. Beverley Randolph was member of Assembly, from Cumberland, during the revolution, and member of the Convention that framed the Federal Constitution and of the Virginia Convention that ratified it, Governor of the State of Virginia and Secretary of State of the United States. Robert Randolph, son of Peter; Richard Randolph, grandson of Peter, and David Meade Randolph, sons of the 2nd Richard, were cavalry officers in the war of the Revolution. David Meade Randolph was Marshal of Virginia. John Randolph, of Roanoke, was grandson of the 1st Richard. Thomas Mann Randolph, Jr. was member of Congress, of the Virginia Legislature and Governor of the State. Richard Bland, Thomas Jefferson Theodorick Bland, Jr., Richard Henry, Arthur and Francis Lightfoot Lee, William Stith the Historian, and Thomas Marshall, father of the Chief Justice, were all descended from Randolph of Turkey Island.

Jane Bolling, great-grand-daughter of Pocahontas, married Richard Randolph, of Curles. John Randolph, Sr., of Roanoke, 7th child of that marriage, married Frances Bland, and John Randolph, of Roanoke, was one of the children of this union.

The members of the numerous family of the Randolphs, in several instances, adopted the names of their seats for the purpose of distinction, as Thomas, of Tuckahoe; Isham, of Dungeness; Richard, of Curles; John, of Roanoke. The following were seats of the Randolphs on the James river: Tuckahoe, Chatsworth, Wilton, Varina, Curles, Bremo, Turkey Island. The crest of the arms of the Virginia Randolphs is an antelope's head.

motley band of loyalists, negroes and recruits from St. Augustine, in Florida, collected a naval force and carried on a predatory warfare. At length a sloop, in the king's service, commanded by a Captain Squires, happening to be wrecked near Hampton, was destroyed by the inhabitants. Dunmore threatened to burn the town in retaliation. Notice of his design being sent to Williamsburg, a party despatched to their assistance, under Colonel Woodford, obliged the assailants to retreat to their vessels with some loss. Dunmore, [November 7th, 1775,] proclaimed martial law, summoned all persons capable of bearing arms to his standard, on penalty of being proclaimed traitors, and offered pardon to all servants and slaves who should join him. His lordship had now the ascendancy in the country around Norfolk. The committee of safety despatched Woodford with his regiment, and two hundred minutemen, amounting in all to eight hundred men, to cross the James, at Sandy point, and go in pursuit of Dunmore. Col. Henry had been desirous to be employed in this service and it was said, solicited it, but the committee of safety refused. Henry's chagrin was aggravated by Woodford's declining, while detached, to acknowledge his superiority in command. The committee sustained Woodford in this insubordination and thus reversed the convention's ordinance and in effect degraded Henry, the officer of their first choice. Envy was at the bottom of these proceedings. New mortifications awaited the man of the people. Woodford approached the earl of Dunmore and found that he had entrenched himself on the north side of the Elizabeth river, at the Great Bridge. Here he had erected a small fort, on an oasis surrounded by a morass, accessible on either side only by a long causeway. Woodford encamped within cannon-shot of this post, in a village at the south end of the causeway, across which he threw up a breast-work. But being destitute of artillery, he was unable to attack the fort. After a few days, Dunmore, hearing by a servant lad who had deserted from Woodford's camp, that his force did not exceed three hundred men, mustered his whole strength and despatched them in the night to the fort, with orders to force the breast-works early next morning, or die in the attempt.

[December 9th, 1775.] A little before sunrise, Captain Fordyce, at the head of sixty grenadiers of the fourteenth regiment, who, six abreast, led the column, advanced along the causeway. The alarm being given in Woodford's camp, a small guard at the breast-works began the fire; others hastened from their tents and regardless of order kept up a heavy fire on the head of the British column. Fordyce though received so warmly in front, and flanked by a party posted on a rising ground to his right, rallied his men and marched up to within twenty yards of the breast-work, when he fell pierced with many bullets. His followers now retreated, galled by the fire of a handful of riflemen under Colonel Stevens, but being covered by the artillery of Dunmore's fort, they were not pursued. Every British grenadier was killed, and the whole number of the enemy's killed and wounded, amounted to about one hundred. Four officers were killed and one wounded and made prisoner. Woodford's troops suffered no loss.* This was the first scene of revolutionary bloodshed in Virginia. On the night following this action, the royalists evacuated their fort, and lord Dunmore took refuge on board of one of his vessels. Col. Howe, with five or six hundred North Carolina troops, now joined Woodford and assumed command of all the provincials at the Great Bridge. Col. Henry now saw Woodford, who had refused to acknowledge his command, submitting himself to an officer of no higher rank and of another colony.

The provincials under Howe took possession of Norfolk. Dunmore's fleet being now distressed for provisions, upon the arrival of the Liverpool man-of-war from England, a flag was sent on shore to enquire whether the inhabitants would supply his majesty's ship. Being answered in the negative and the ships in the harbor being continually annoyed by a fire from the quarter of the town lying next the water, Dunmore determined to dislodge the assailants by burning it. Previous notice having been given to the inhabitants, [January 1st 1776,] a party of sailors and marines landed and set fire to the

nearest houses. The party was covered by a heavy cannonade from the Liverpool frigate, two sloops of war and the governor's armed ship, the Dunmore. A few were killed and wounded on both sides. A printing press had been removed from Norfolk some time before this, on board the governor's ship, and according to his bulletin, published after this affair, it was only intended to destroy that part of the town next the water. The provincials, however, strongly prejudiced against the place, made no attempts to arrest the flames as they spread from house to house. After four-fifths of the town were destroyed, Col. Howe, who had waited on the convention to urge the necessity of completing the destruction, returned with orders to that effect, which were immediately carried into execution. Thus fell the most populous and flourishing town in Virginia. Its rental, [1775,] amounted to \$44,000 and the total loss was estimated at \$1,300,000.

Dunmore continued to carry on a predatory warfare on the rivers, burning houses and plundering plantations. The convention having raised six additional regiments, Congress doubtless misled by the machinations of a cabal, agreed to take the six *new* regiments of Virginia on continental establishment, thus passing by the two first, so as to exclude Colonel Henry from the chief command, to which he was best entitled. The convention, however, interfering, the two older regiments were admitted into the continental line; but here again unrelenting envy procured commissions of brigadier general for Colonel Howe and Colonel Andrew Lewis. Colonel Henry now declined the commission tendered him by Congress and resigned that which he held under the convention. Ill treatment drove him, as it had driven Washington, from the army. The troops encamped at Williamsburg knew how to appreciate their loss; they immediately went into mourning and being under arms waited on him at his lodgings. In their address they deplored his withdrawal, which deprived them at once of a father and a commander, but applauded his just resentment at a glaring indignity. Henry closed his reply in these words:—"I am unhappy to part with you. May God bless you and give you success and safety and make you the

* Marshall's Life of Washington, vol. 1, pp. 68-69. This author was with Woodford in this expedition. Burk, vol. 4, p. 86. The Bland Papers, vol. 1, pp. 38-39. Richard Kidder Meade, father of Right Rev. William Meade, was present at the affair of the Great Bridge.

glorious instrument of saving our country." Henry dined on that day with the officers at the Raleigh tavern and in the afternoon they proposed to escort him out of town. The soldiers, however, now assembled tumultuously and unwilling to serve under any other commander, demanded their discharge. Col. Henry, therefore, found it necessary to remain a night longer in Williamsburg and visiting the barracks in company of Colonel Christian and other officers, he employed his eloquence in allaying the commotions which had arisen. Love and admiration for Henry pervaded the whole army and the great body of the people. In March he was addressed by ninety officers at Kemp's Landing, at Suffolk and at Williamsburg, upon the indignity offered *him*, whose eloquence had first taught them to resent oppression and whose resolution had first led them forward to resist it. This indignity they attributed to envy. It seemed to them indeed an effort to fetter and retard in his upward flight the republican eagle, whose adventurous wing had launched into the storm, while others sate crouching in their nests mute and thunderstruck. Immediately upon his return to Hanover, Mr. Henry was returned a delegate to the Convention. This body assembled in the capitol at Williamsburg, [6th of May, 1776.] Edmund Pendleton was elected president. This eminent man, born in Caroline county, [1741,] had overcome the disadvantages of a defective education by study and good company. In person he was spare, his countenance noble. With a vigorous judgment he united indefatigable application and thus became a profound lawyer and consummate statesman. A zealous churchman, he never lost his veneration for the hierarchy. His manners were graceful and dignified. As a speaker he was distinguished by a melodious voice, a distinct elocution, fluency, vigor, urbanity and simplicity. *

May 15th the convention unanimously adopted resolutions instructing the Virginia delegates in Congress to propose to that body to "declare the United Colonies free and independent States." On the next day a feu de joie was fired and the Union flag of the American States waved from the capitol.

* Wirt's Life of Henry.

June 12th, the Bill of Rights prepared by Mr. Jefferson, (who was at this time in Philadelphia,) was adopted and on the 29th, a constitution, mainly composed by George Mason. This gentleman, the author of the first written constitution in the world, was pre-eminent for his enlarged views, profound wisdom, extensive information and the pure simplicity of his republican principles. As a speaker he was earnest and impressive, but devoid of all rhetorical grace.

Patrick Henry, Jr., was elected the first republican governor of Virginia, he receiving 60 votes and Thomas Nelson 45. The salary was fixed at £1000 per annum. The first council appointed under the constitution consisted of John Page, Dudley Digges, John Tayloe, John Blair, Benjamin Harrison of Berkeley, Bartholomew Dandridge, Thomas Nelson and Charles Carter of Shirley. Mr. Nelson on account of his infirm old age declining the appointment, his place was supplied by Benjamin Harrison of Brandon. [7th of June, 1776,] a resolution in favor of a total and immediate separation from Great Britain was moved in Congress by Richard Henry Lee * and seconded by John Adams. [June 28th,] a committee was appointed to prepare a declaration of independence. The members of the committee were Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, Benjamin Franklin and Robert R. Livingston. Richard Henry Lee, the mover of the resolution, had been compelled by the illness of Mrs. Lee to leave Congress on the day of the appointment of the committee. Mr. Lee's place was filled by Roger Sherman. The declaration of independence was adopted, [4th of July, 1776.] It was composed mainly by Mr. Jefferson. † The Virginia delegates who subscribed it were George Wythe, Richard Henry Lee, Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Harrison, Thomas Nelson, Jr., Francis Lightfoot Lee and Carter Braxton.

Thomas Nelson, Jr., † son of Hon. Wil-

* 1 Writings of Jefferson, p. 10.

† See copy of original draught of the Declaration, Ib., pp. 16-22 and fac simile of the MS. appended to vol. 4.

‡ There is preserved at Shelly, in Gloucester county, Virginia, seat of Mrs. Mann Page, a daughter of General Nelson, a fine portrait of him, taken while he was a student at Eton, by an artist named Chamberlin, London, 1754. I was informed by Mrs. Page that her father never afterwards would consent to sit again for a portrait and that

liam Nelson, sometime President of the Council of Virginia, was born at York, December 26, 1738. At the age of fifteen he was sent to England to be educated. [1774.] He entered upon public life in Virginia as a member of the House of Burgesses. He was a member of the conventions of 1774 and 1775, and displayed extraordinary boldness in opposing the British tyranny. He was afterwards appointed Colonel of a Virginia regiment. In 1775 and 1776 he was a member of Congress. In the summer of 1777 ill health obliged him to resign his seat and return to Virginia. Here he was shortly after appointed Brigadier General and Commander-in-chief of all the military forces of the State. His popularity was now unbounded. When a motion was made to sequester the debts due to British merchants, he opposed it with manly firmness. When the American cause seemed about to be overwhelmed, and Congress made an appeal to young men of property and influence, Gen. Nelson issued an animated address and succeeded in enlisting about seventy young Virginians in a volunteer corps and furnished a number of them from his own purse. [1779.] He was for a short time in Congress, when ill health again caused him to return to Virginia. [1780.] When Virginia under-

took to raise two millions of dollars in aid of Congress, General Nelson raised a large sum by pledging his own property as security. By this magnanimous course he brought upon himself enormous losses. [1781.] When Virginia was invaded, Gen. Nelson was employed in endeavoring to oppose the enemy. In a period of great public distress he succeeded Mr. Jefferson in the office of Governor. In providing troops and stores for the siege of York, Governor Nelson displayed the greatest patriotism and energy. He was present in command of the Virginia militia at the siege and received from Washington an acknowledgment of his valuable services. This generous patriot, however, did not escape the shafts of slander, and his noble efforts in the cause of his country subjected him to ingratitude and unmerited reproach.

Benjamin Harrison, Jr., of Berkeley, was descended from ancestors who were among the early settlers of Virginia. His father was of the same name, his mother a daughter of Robert, (called King) Carter of Corotoman. Benjamin Harrison, Jr., was educated at the College of William and Mary. Long a member of the House of Burgesses for the county of Charles City, [Nov. 14, 1764,] he was one of a committee chosen to prepare an address to the king, a memorial to the House of Lords and a remonstrance to the House of Commons, in opposition to the Stamp Act. [1774.] He was a delegate from Virginia to the first Continental Congress, of which his brother-in-law, Peyton Randolph, * was President. [June 10th, 1776.] As Chairman of the committee of the whole House, Mr. Harrison introduced the resolution declaring the independence of the colonies, and on the 4th of July he reported the Declaration of Independence, of which he was one of the signers. He was four times returned a delegate to Congress from Virginia. After the expiration of his term of service in that body, he was elected Speaker of the Virginia House of Burgesses, which office he held until 1782, when he was chosen Governor of the State.†

when Col. Trumbull was engaged in his piece, "The Signers of the Declaration of Independence," intended for the rotunda of the Capitol at Washington, Chamberlin's portrait was forwarded to Trumbull, but it not answering his purpose, being too youthful, he copied from Thomas Nelson, son of the General, and said to be very like him. Mrs. Page mentioned to me as among the earliest recollections of her childhood, her having seen Lord and Lady Dunmore at the palace in Williamsburg. She remembered too that in 1776 she was taken into the State House in Philadelphia by the Hon. John Penn. During the revolutionary war she accompanied her mother from Yorktown to the county of Hanover, to avoid the enemy. The house at Offley, a plantation belonging to General Nelson, being too small for the accommodation of his family, it was found necessary to build an additional room, and in the interim they occupied a house, the property of Patrick Henry, at Scotch-town, and Mrs. P. saw him there. She was at school with two of his daughters. Thus far the reminiscences of this venerable lady.

The first of the Nelsons of Virginia was Thomas, son of Hugh and Sarah Nelson, of Penrith, Cumberland county, England. He was born February 20, 1677, and died October 7, 1745, aged 68. Coming from a border county, which had formerly belonged to Scotland, he was styled "Scotch Tom." He was an importing merchant and Yorktown was in his day and for a long time the sea-port town of Virginia. He was father of the Hon. William Nelson, (President,) and Thomas Nelson, (Secretary.)

* He married Elizabeth Harrison.

† The common ancestor of the Harrisons of Berkley and of Brandon was Benjamin Harrison of Surrey. He was born in that county 1645 and died 1712. It was long believed by the Harrisons of Virginia, that they were lineally descended from the celebrated Col. John Harrison, the friend of Cromwell and one of the regicides. This opin-

George Wythe was born, [1726,] in Elizabeth City county, Virginia, on the shores of the Chesapeake Bay. His father was a prudent farmer of estimable character. George Wythe enjoyed but limited advantages of school education and his early tuition was principally directed by his mother, and it is related that he acquired a knowledge of the Latin classics from her instructions.* Mr. Jefferson mentions that while young Wythe was studying the Greek Testament, his mother held an English one to aid him in the translation.† By dint of application and this maternal assistance, he came to be at

ion, however, appears to be erroneous. The first of the family in Virginia was the Hon. Benjamin Harrison, a member of the council in Virginia. He lies buried in the yard of an old church, near Cabin Point, in the county of Surrey. The following is his epitaph:—"Here lyeth the Body of the Hon. BENJAMIN HARRISON, *Esq.*, who did Justice, loved Mercy, and walked humbly with his God; was always loyal to his Prince and a great Benefactor to his Country. He was born in this Parish, the 20th day of September, 1645, and departed this Life the 30th day of January, 1712-13." It is certain that this Benjamin Harrison, born in Southwark parish, Surrey, Virginia, in 1645, during the civil war in England, could not be the son of Col. Harrison, the regicide. He may, however, have been a collateral relation. That this Benjamin Harrison, of Surrey, was the first of the family in Virginia, is confirmed by some ancient wills still preserved. He had three sons, of whom Benjamin, the eldest, settled at Berkley. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Louis Burwell of Gloucester, and was an eminent lawyer and sometime Speaker of the House of Burgesses. He died in April, 1710, aged 37, leaving an only son Benjamin and an only daughter Elizabeth. The son Benjamin married a daughter of Robert, (called King) arter of Corotoman, in the county of Lancaster. Two daughters of this union were killed by the same flash of lightning at Berkley. Another daughter married — Randolph of Wilton. The sons of this Benjamin Harrison, and — Carter his wife, were Benjamin, signer of the Declaration of Independence; Charles, a general of the Revolution; Nathaniel, Henry, Colin and Carter H. From the last mentioned, are descended the Harrisons of Cumberland. Benjamin Harrison, Jr., of Berkley, the signer, married a Miss Basset. Their children were Benjamin, Carter B., sometime member of Congress, and William Henry, President of the United States, one daughter who married — Randolph, and another, who married — Copeland. So far the Berkley branch of the Harrisons.

The second son of Benjamin Harrison of Surrey, first of the family in Virginia, was Nathaniel. His eldest son was named Nathaniel, and his only son was Benjamin Harrison, of Brandon, one of the council of Virginia, at the same time with Benjamin Harrison, Jr., of Berkley, about the commencement of the Revolution. This Benjamin Harrison of Brandon was father of the present William B. Harrison, *Esq.*, of Brandon, to whom I am indebted for most of the foregoing particulars, relative to his ancient and eminent family. See 8 Hening, pp. 66 and 174.

* Wirt's Life of Patrick Henry, p. 65. This fact was communicated to Mr. Wirt by Judge Nelson, a relation of Mr. Wythe.

† Writings of Jefferson, vol. 1, p. 92.

length the most accomplished Latin and Greek scholar in Virginia. He pursued other studies with a like success. His parents dying before he became of age and his father leaving him a competent fortune, he fell into idleness and dissipation. At the age of thirty, however he abandoned that course of life and devoted himself with unremitting industry to the study of the law under Mr. John Lewis. Mr. Wythe in after life often deplored the loss of so many golden years of his early life. His learning, judgment, industry and eloquence soon raised him to eminence at a bar adorned by men of learning, ability and dignity. Early elected a member of the house of burgesses, he continued a member of it until the revolution. At the dawn of that event, Mr. Wythe in common with his pupil, Thomas Jefferson, and the venerable Richard Bland, assumed the bold ground, that the Crown was the only connecting link between the Colonies and Great Britain. [Nov. 14th, 1764,] Mr. Wythe was a member of a committee of the house of burgesses appointed to prepare a Petition to the king, a Memorial to the Lords and a Remonstrance to the Commons on the subject of the Stamp Act. He prepared the Remonstrance in conformity with his radical principles. It was, however, greatly modified by the Assembly before assenting to it. [May, 1765,] Mr. Wythe in common with Nicholas, Pendleton, Randolph and Bland, opposed Patrick Henry's celebrated Resolutions as premature. Early in 1775, Mr. Wythe joined a corps of volunteers, but in August of that year became a member of Congress. [1776.] He signed the Declaration of Independence, which he had strenuously supported in debate. He was twice married, first to a Miss Lewis, daughter of the gentleman under whom he had studied law; second to a Miss Taliaferro.* He died childless. Mr. Wythe was distinguished for his integrity, justice, patriotism, ardent love of liberty and a singular disinterestedness. Temperance and regular habits gave him good health, sweet and modest manners endeared him to every one. His elocution was easy, his language chaste, his arrangement lucid. Learned, urbane, logical, he was not quick, but solid and profound. He

* Taliaferro, (pronounced Tolliver,) originally an Italian family, Tagliaferro. 2 Writings of Jefferson, pp. 44-229.

was of the middle size, well-formed, his face manly and engaging.*

Richard Henry Lee was born at Stratford, on the banks of the Potomac, January 20th, 1732. His father was Thomas Lee; his mother a daughter of Colonel Ludwell of Greenspring.†

* 1 Writings of Jefferson, pp. 92-94. Sanderson's Biography of the Signers, vol. 2, pp. 160-184.

† Life of Richard Henry Lee, by his grandson of the same name, vol. 1, pp. 5-7. Richard Lee, first of the family in Virginia, great grandfather of Richard Henry, a cavalier, emigrated from England to Virginia during the civil commotions in the time of Charles I., and making several voyages to the mother country, brought over with him a number of followers, each of whom received a portion of land in the colony, under the title of "head-rights." He probably settled at first in York, for he appears as a burgess of that county, [1647.] 1 Hening, p. 339. Henry Lee was a burgess of the same county, [1652.] lb., p. 370. Richard Lee finally settled in Northumberland county in the Northern Neck. [1659.] Certain lands there being deserted by the Indians, were ceded to the Hon. Samuel Matthews, governor, "Provided that no intrenchment be made upon any preceding rights of Col. Richard Lee." lb. p. 515. See also 2 Hening, pp. 200-201. In the Life of Richard Henry Lee, as above referred to, it is stated that Richard Lee was for a long time secretary to Sir William Berkley, governor of the colony, and that after the surrender of Virginia to the Parliamentary forces, he [Lee] hired a Dutch ship and visited the exiled Charles while at Breda, in order to ascertain whether in case Virginia should declare her allegiance to him, he could protect her, and that finding the prince too feeble to undertake it, he returned to Virginia. This tradition is not confirmed by history and is probably entitled to but little credit. The rest of the story is, that upon Cromwell's death, Richard Lee, with the assistance of Sir William Berkley, contrived to get Charles II. proclaimed in the colony, king of "England, France, Scotland, Ireland and Virginia," two years before he was restored to the throne in England! A tissue of monstrous fictions.

Richard, second son of Richard Lee, was of the king's council in Virginia. Thomas Lee, third son of the former, was sometime President of the council. Richard Henry Lee's maternal relations were conspicuous for their public stations. Col. Ludwell, father of Mrs. Lee, was of the Council, as also was a son of his. Her grandfather was sometime Collector of the Customs in Virginia, (having succeeded Giles Bland, who was executed during the rebellion,) and was afterwards Governor of North Carolina. When about to send this sheet to the press I have received a copy of the will of Richard Lee, head of the family in Virginia, for which I am indebted to Mrs. Susan H. Thornton, one of his descendants. This will is dated 1663. The following extracts are taken from it:—"I Col. Richard Lee of Virginia and lately of Stratford Langton, in the county of Essex, Esq. being bound out upon a voyage to Virginia aforesaid and not knowing how it may please God to dispose of me in so long a voyage," &c. "First I give and bequeath my soul to that good and gracious God that gave it me and to my blessed Redeemer Jesus Christ, assuredly trusting in and by his meritorious Death and Passion, to receive salvation, and my Body to be disposed of whether by Sea or Land, according to the opportunity of the Place, not doubting but at the last day both Body and Soul shall be re-united and glorified." "Also my will and earnest desire is that my good friends, [Thomas Griffith and John Lockey merchants in England,] will with all

His early days were passed somewhat after the Spartan manner. His mother, one of the high-toned aristocracy, confined her care to her daughters and her eldest son and left her younger sons pretty much to shift for themselves.* After a course of private tuition in his father's house, Richard Henry was sent to Wakefield Academy, Yorkshire, England, where he distinguished himself by his proficiency in his studies, particularly in the Latin and Greek. Having finished his course at this school, he travelled through England

convenient speed, cause my wife and children, all except Francis if he be pleased, to be transported to Virginia and to provide all necessary for the voyage," &c. "To my wife during her life I give the Plantation [Stratford] whereon I now dwell, ten English servants, five Negroes, 3 men and 2 women, 20 sows and corn proportionable to the servants. The said negroes I give to her during her widowhood and no longer and then presently to return to those of the five youngest children, also the Plantation Mocke Neck. Item my will and earnest desire is, that my household stuff at Stratford be divided into 3 parts, two of which I give to my son John and bind him to give to every one of his brothers a bed and the other third I give to my wife Anna Lee. Item I give all my plate to my three eldest sons or the survivor or survivors of them, each to have his part delivered to him when he comes to the age of eighteen years. Item I give to my son John and his heirs forever, when he comes to the age of 18 years, all my land and plantation at Mathotick, all the stock of cattle and hogs thereupon, also 10 Negroes, viz 5 men and five women and ten English servants for their times, &c." He likewise bequeaths his Plantation Paradise and the servants there, &c., to Richard; the Paper makers Neck and War Captain's Neck with 5 Negroes and 10 English servants, &c., to Francis. To his 5 younger children, William, Hancock, Betsey, Anne and Charles, the Testator bequeaths a plantation including Bishop's Neck, 4000 acres of land on the Potomac and the remainder of two plantations after the death of his wife, together with the residue of his estate real and personal. To his eldest son John he bequeaths "3 Islands lying in the Bay of Chesapeake, the great Bed that I brot over the last year in the Duke of York and the furniture thereunto belonging." To William he bequeaths his lands on the Maryland side. "Also my will is that goods sufficient be set apart for the maintenance of the gangs of each plantation, for the space of two years and all the rest of the Goods to be sold to the best advantage and the Tobacco ship home to Mr. Lockey and Mr. Griffith," &c. To Francis he gives his interest being one eighth part in the ship Elizabeth and Mary and the ship Susan. The will provides a fund "for the better education of John and Richard equally to assist the one in his travel for the attainment of a reasonable perfection in the knowledge of Physick the other at the University or the Inns of Court which he shall be most fit for."

According to tradition the Lees of Westmoreland, Virginia, are descended from the English family of that name, to which belonged the Earls of Litchfield. The English Lees were loyal supporters of the Stuarts. Accordingly Sir Henry Lee of Ditchley is a cavalier character in Sir Walter Scott's novel of Woodstock.

* Life of Richard Henry Lee, by his grand-son of the same name. Vol. 1, p. 244.

and visited London. He returned when about nineteen years of age to his native country, two years after his father's death, which occurred [1750.] Young Lee's fortune rendering it unnecessary for him to devote himself to a profession, he now passed a life of ease, but not of idleness, for he indulged his taste for letters and diligently stored his mind with knowledge in the wide circle of theology, science, history, law, politics and poetry. [1755.] Being chosen captain of a company of volunteers raised in Westmoreland, he marched with them to Alexandria and offered their services to General Braddock in his expedition against Fort Duquesne. The offer, however, was declined. In his 25th year Mr. Lee was appointed a justice of the peace and shortly after a burgess for his county. Naturally diffident and finding himself surrounded by men of extraordinary abilities, for one or two sessions he took no part in the debates. One of his early efforts was a brief but strong and elaborate speech in support of a resolution, "to lay so heavy a tax on the importation of slaves as effectually to put an end to that iniquitous and disgraceful traffic within the colony of Virginia." On this occasion he argued against the institution of slavery as a portentous evil moral and political.* When the defalcations of treasurer Robinson came to be suspected, Mr. Lee, like Patrick Henry, (on another occasion of the same kind,) insisted, with manly firmness, in the face of a proud and embittered opposition, on an investigation of the state of the treasury. [Nov. 1764.] When the meditated Stamp Act was first heard of in America, Mr. Lee, at the instance of a friend, wrote to England making application for a collector's office under that Act. At that time neither he, nor as he believed, his countrymen, had reflected at all on the real nature that Act. In a few days, however, reflection convinced him of its pernicious character and of the impropriety of his application, and from that time he became, in public and in private, one of the most active and strenuous opponents of the Stamp Act.† In this year he brought before the Assembly of Virginia the subject of the declaratory Act of Parliament, claiming a right to tax America, and he draughted the address to the king

and the memorial to the commons. His accomplishments, learning, courtesy, patriotism, republican principles, decision of character and eloquence, commanded the attention of the legislature. Although a member at the time of the introduction of Patrick Henry's Resolutions, [1765.] Mr. Lee happened not to be present at the discussion, but he heartily concurred in their adoption. Shortly after the passage of those Resolutions Mr. Lee organized an association in Westmoreland in furtherance of them. [1767.] He vigorously opposed the Act laying a duty on Tea and that for quartering British troops in the Colonies. He was now residing at Chantilly,* his seat on the Potomac, in Westmoreland. [25th July, 1768.] In a letter to John Dickinson of Pennsylvania, Mr. Lee suggested, "that not only select committees should be appointed by all the colonies, but that a private correspondence should be conducted between the lovers of liberty in every province."† [1773.] The Virginia Assembly, (about the same time with that of Massachusetts Bay,) appointed a committee of correspondence, consisting of six members, of whom Mr. Lee was one.‡ [1774.] Mr. Lee was a delegate from Virginia in the Congress that met at Philadelphia. Patrick Henry, the first who spoke in that body, was followed by Richard Henry Lee. Mr. Lee was an active and laborious member of all the leading committees, and he draughted the memorial to the people of British America. § [1775.] Returned again from Westmoreland to the Virginia Assembly; that body elected him a delegate to the second congress. When Washington was chosen commander-in-chief, Richard Henry Lee as chairman of the committee, appointed for the occasion, prepared the commission and instructions. He served also on several other important committees and prepared the second address to the people of Great Britain. || [May 17, 1776.] The Convention of Virginia passed resolutions instructing her delegates in congress to propose to that body to declare the colonies free

* A few miles below Stratford. The house at Chantilly is now in ruins.

† Ib. p. 65.

‡ Ib. 63. The suggestion was, however, claimed by Mr. Jefferson.

§ This masterly document is to be found in the Life of R. H. Lee. Vol. 1., pp. 119-133.

|| Ib. 143-153.

and independent. When those instructions were received at Philadelphia, the Virginia delegation appointed Mr. Lee to bring forward resolutions to that effect. He accordingly, June 7th, made that motion, which was seconded by John Adams. June 10th, Mr. Lee received, by express from Virginia, intelligence of the dangerous illness of his wife. He therefore left Philadelphia on the 11th, the day on which a committee was appointed to draught a Declaration of independence. Had he remained he would have been chairman of that committee, and would have been the author of the Declaration of Independence. Shortly after the adoption of the Declaration, [July 8th,] Mr. Jefferson enclosed to Mr. Lee, in Virginia, the original draught, and also a copy of the Declaration as adopted by Congress. In August Mr. Lee resumed his seat in congress. Richard Henry Lee was in person tall and well proportioned, his features bold and expressive, nose aquiline, the contour of his face noble. He had lost, by an accident, the use of one of his hands, and was sometimes styled "the gentleman of the silver hand;" this hand he kept covered with a black silk bandage, but leaving his thumb free. Notwithstanding this disadvantage his gesture was pre-eminently graceful. His voice was melodious, his elocution Ciceronian, his diction elegant, copious, easy. His eloquence flowed on in tranquil magnificence like the stream of his own Potomac, reflecting in its course the beautiful forms of nature.* Mr. Lee was a member of the Episcopal church.

Francis Lightfoot Lee, brother of Richard Henry, was born, [October 14, 1734.] He was educated under a private tutor and inherited an independent fortune. [1765.] He became a member of the Virginia house of burgesses, and continued in that body until 1775, when the convention of Virginia returned him a member of Congress, in which he remained until 1779, when he re-entered the Assembly of Virginia.†

Carter Braxton was born at Newington, on the Mataponi, in King and Queen county, Va., [Sept. 10th, 1736.] His father, George Braxton, a wealthy planter, married Mary, daughter of Robert Carter, of the council, and,

[1748,] represented the county of King and Queen, being colleague of John, (known as speaker,) Robinson. Carter Braxton was educated at the college of William & Mary. Inheriting in his youth, upon his father's death, a large estate, at the age of nineteen he married Judith, daughter of Christopher Robinson, of Middlesex. She dying, [1757,] Mr. Braxton visited England, where he remained for several years* and returned [1760.] [1761.] He married Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Richard Corbin, of Laneville. During his first marriage, he built an elegant mansion at Elsin Green, on the Pamunkey, and afterwards another at Chericoke, on the same river. He lived in a style of generous and costly hospitality, according to the fashion of that day. [1761.] He was a member of the House of Burgesses from the county of King William, and took an active part in the session of 1765.† [1769.] He was a delegate in the assembly from the same county and was a signer of the non-importation agreement. He was a member of the Virginia convention, [1774.] [1775.] When Patrick Henry, at the head of 150 volunteers, had advanced to Doncastle's, within 16 miles of Williamsburg, for the purpose of recovering the gunpowder, removed by Lord Dunmore, Mr. Braxton repaired to Henry's head-quarters and interposed his efforts to prevent extremities. Finding that Henry would not disband without receiving the powder or compensation for it, Mr. Braxton returned to Williamsburg and procured from his father-in-law, Corbin, the deputy receiver general, the amount demanded, and delivering it to Henry, succeeded in warding off the threatened blow. In this pacific course Mr. Braxton coincided with the moderate councils of Pendleton, Nicholas and Peyton Randolph. In this year Mr. Braxton was an active member of the assembly and of the convention that met at Richmond. He was one of the committee of safety. [Dec. 15.] He was elected a delegate to congress in the place of Peyton Randolph, and he was a signer of the Declaration of Independence. [June 1776.] The convention having reduced the number of delegates in Congress from seven to five,

* Wirt's Life of Patrick Henry, p. 68. Life of R. H. Lee, vol. 1, pp. 249 250.

† Encyclopædia Americana.

* A diary which he kept during this period is still preserved by his descendants.

† His colleague was Bernard Moore of Chelsea, son-in-law of Gov. Spotswood.

Mr. Harrison and Mr. Braxton were not re-elected. According to Girardin, * "Mr. Braxton's *Address on Government* was not universally relished and his popularity had been in some degree impaired by persons whose political indiscretions, though beyond his control, fatally re-acted against him." He was, however, about this time returned by the county of King William a member of the convention, and if he had fallen under a cloud of suspicion, it appears to have been soon dispersed, for, [Oct. 12th, 1776,] the thanks of the convention were unanimously returned to Thomas Jefferson and Carter Braxton, for their ability, diligence, and integrity, as delegates in Congress. †

CHAPTER XXXIV.

1776—1781.

Dunmore; Miscellaneous Affairs; Clarke Captures St. Vineennes; The Convention Troops; Arrival of British Squadron in Hampton Roads; Suffolk Burnt; Battle of King's Mountain; Arnold Invades Virginia; Arrival of Phillips; Petersburg taken; Devastations of the Enemy; Phillips proceeds down James River; Returns to Petersburg; His Death; Succeeded by Arnold; Simeoe.

Dunmore, pressed for provisions, burnt his intrenchments near the ruins of Norfolk and sought refuge on board of his fleet. Major General Charles Lee took energetic measures for curbing the disaffected in the lower country. His orders were carried into effect by Col. Woodford, who, in this affair, displayed vigor tempered with humanity. Dunmore, with his fleet left Hampton Roads about the first of June and intrenched himself on Gwynn's island, in the Chesapeake Bay, to the East of Matthews county. [July 9th] he was attacked by a party of Virginians under Brigadier General Andrew Lewis and forced to abandon the island. Shortly afterwards despatching the remnant of his followers to Florida and the West Indies, he retired to the North and thence returned to England, where he continued to exhibit himself an active, untiring opponent of America.

[July 3, 1775.] Washington assumed the

command of the American army, consisting of 14,500 men, encamped near Boston, and made his head-quarters at Cambridge. The British army, blocked up on the land side remained inactive in Boston until March, when Sir William Howe, who had succeeded General Gage, evacuated that city and sailed for Halifax. In the meantime Canada being invaded and Montgomery having reduced St. Johns, Fort Chambee and Montreal, united his force with that under Arnold and fell in a gallant but unsuccessful attack upon Quebec. Reinforcements of American troops were sent to Canada, but owing to their insufficiency in number and in discipline, the rigor of the climate and the activity of General Carleton, the British commander, the expedition proved fruitless, and it was found necessary to evacuate that country.

Upon the evacuation of Boston the American army proceeded to New York. Early in July, 1776, Sir William Howe with his army landed on Staten Island. The command of the fleet was under Lord Howe, brother of Sir William, and these two were constituted commissioners for restoring peace. The British army being re-inforced, in August amounted to 24,000 men. The American army numbered 27,000, of whom, however, many were undisciplined and a fourth part sick. [August 27.] In the battle of Long Island, the American army, inferior in number to the British, and without cavalry, was defeated with a heavy loss, variously estimated. Among the prisoners was General Sullivan. The British loss was not inconsiderable. From the commencement of the battle on the morning of the 27th till the morning of the 29th Washington never slept, and was almost constantly on horseback. The disastrous result of this action cast a gloom over the cause of independence and damped the ardor of the American troops. The militia, in large numbers, quit the camp and went home, insubordination prevailed and Washington was obliged to confess his "want of confidence in the generality of the troops." He urged upon Congress the necessity of a permanent army. [September 15, 1776.] Washington was compelled to evacuate New York with the loss of all his heavy artillery and a large part of his stores. General Howe took possession of the city.*

* See Burk's History of Virginia.

+ Biography of Signers of Declaration of Independence, Vol. vi, pp. 177-207.

* 1. Marshall's Life of Washington, pp. 81-103.

In a skirmish, on Haerlem Heights, a detachment of the third Virginia regiment, (which had arrived on the preceding day,) formed the advanced party in the attack. Major Leitch, while intrepidly leading them on, fell mortally wounded. In accordance with Washington's solicitation, congress took some measures to put the army on a better footing. Washington to obviate the movements of the enemy, moved his army up the North River. [October 25, 1776,] occurred the battle of White Plains, warmly contested with equal loss and without conclusive result. [Nov. 16th.] Fort Washington was stormed by the British, and the garrison, consisting of upwards of 2,600 men, were made prisoners. The loss of the enemy was 800. Early in December, Washington finding his army reduced to 4000 men, retreated across Jersey. Upon reaching the Delaware, his number was reduced to 3000, badly armed, half naked and destitute of supplies. They were followed by a British army, numerous, well-appointed, and victorious. Gen. Charles Lee was surprised and made prisoner. The spirit of disaffection, prevailing in the country, was added to render the American cause still more hopeless. This was a dark period of the Revolution. [Dec. 20, 1776.] Washington's army, on the west bank of the Delaware, increased by re-inforcements, amounted to 7000 effectives. In a few days, however, all of them, except about 1,500 men, were about to be dissolved. In the gloom that overspread the country, Washington became convinced that some bold enterprise was necessary, and he resolved to strike at the posts of the enemy, who had retired into winter quarters. Crossing the Delaware in a night of extreme cold, he surprised a body of Hessians at Trenton, on the morning of the 26th, and made 1,000 prisoners. Lieut. Monroe, afterwards President of the United States, was wounded in this affair. Lieut. Colonel Baylor, of Virginia, Washington's aid, carrying the intelligence of this success to Congress, was presented with a horse caparisoned for service and was recommended for promotion. At Princeton, another corps was routed with heavy loss, but the joy of the Americans was mingled with grief for the loss of the brave and virtuous General Mercer.

During this year died Richard Bland, a man of extraordinary intellectual calibre, of

a finished education, and of indefatigable habits of application. Thoroughly versed in the charters, laws and history of the colony, he was styled the Virginia Antiquary. He was a politician of the first rank, a profound logician and the first writer in the colony. His letter to the clergy of Virginia, published 1760, and that on the rights of the colonies, published 1766, are monuments of his patriotism, his learning, and of the vigor of his understanding. In debate he was an ungraceful speaker.* It is said that he was pronounced by Mr. Jefferson "the wisest man south of the James river." He resided at Jordan's Point, his seat on James river, in the county of Prince George. His portrait and that of his wife were mutilated by British soldiers during the revolutionary war.

The Cherokees, instigated by the English, having made bloody incursions on the frontier of Virginia, Col. Christian marching with a body of troops burnt their towns and compelled them to sue for peace. [October 7th, 1776,] the Assembly of Virginia met for the first time since the commencement of the Revolution. Edmund Pendleton was chosen Speaker of the house of delegates and Archibald Carey of the Senate. The Presbytery of Hanover presented to the Assembly a Memorial praying that religious freedom should be secured to dissenters. The Memorialists pledged themselves that nothing in their power should be wanting to give success to the common cause. In the frontier counties, containing one fifth of the inhabitants of Virginia, the dissenters, who constituted almost the entire population, were yet obliged to contribute to the sup-

* Wirt's Life of Patrick Henry, p. 64. The Blands of Va. derive their name from Bland a place in Westmoreland or Cumberland, England. William de Bland flourished in the reign of Edward III., and did good service in the wars, which that king carried on in France, in company of John, of Gaunt, Earl of Richmond. Thomas de Bland obtained a pardon from Richard II., for the death of a person slain in a duel, by the intercession of his friend, the Duke of Guyenne and Lancaster. Giles Bland, collector of the customs for James river, a partisan of Bacon, was executed during the rebellion. Edmund Bland, a merchant in Spain, [1613,] removed to Virginia, and settled at Kimages, in Charles City county. Theodorick Bland, who settled at Westover, [1654,] and Giles Bland, who was executed in the time of Bacon's Rebellion, have been mentioned in a preceding part of this work. This Theodorick left three sons, of whom the second was born at Berkley, [1665.] His second wife was Elizabeth, daughter of Colonel William Randolph, of Turkey Island, and their eldest son was Richard, afterwards member of the old congress.

port of the church as established. A considerable portion of the inhabitants of the other parts of the colony labored under the same disadvantage. "Certain it is, [say the Memorialists,] that every argument for civil liberty gains additional strength when applied to liberty in the concerns of religion; and there is no argument in favor of establishing the Christian religion, but what may be pleaded with equal propriety for establishing the tenets of Mahomed, by those who believe the Alcoran; or if this be not true, it is at least impossible for the magistrate to adjudge the right of preference among the various sects that profess the Christian faith, without erecting a chair of infallibility, which would lead us back to the church of Rome." Religious establishments, (they contended,) are injurious to the temporal interests of any community. The more early settlement of Virginia and her natural advantages would have attracted hither multitudes of industrious and useful members of society, but they had either remained in their place of nativity, or preferred worse civil governments and a more barren soil, where they might enjoy the rights of conscience more fully. Nor did religion need the aid of an establishment. On the contrary, as her weapons are spiritual, Christianity would flourish in the greatest purity when left to her native excellence, and the duty which we owe our Creator can only be directed by reason and conviction. The Assembly passed an act exempting Dissenters from contributions for the support of the established church and submitting to the people the question whether a general assessment should be levied for the support of religion. *

Thomas Jefferson, Edmund Pendleton, George Wythe, George Mason and Thomas Ludwell Lee were appointed a committee to revise the State Laws. By the resignation of Mr. Mason and the death of Mr. Lee, the duty devolved on the other three. An act of great consequence, framed by Mr. Jefferson, for docking entails, was passed. The Virginia Assembly met, [May 5th, 1777.] George Wythe, pupil and friend of Jefferson, was made Speaker of the lower house. The

oath of allegiance was prescribed, a loan office established and acts passed to support the credit of the continental and state paper currency. Benjamin Harrison, George Mason, Joseph Jones, Francis Lightfoot Lee and John Harrison were elected delegates to Congress, Richard Henry Lee being left out. [June 5th.] On account of his health and for the purpose of meeting certain charges circulated against his character as a patriot, Mr. Lee returned home. Having recently been elected to the Assembly from Westmoreland, he repaired to Richmond and demanded an enquiry into his public conduct. After a full investigation and a defence so graceful and so eloquent as to extort admiration even from his enemies, he was honorably acquitted and the thanks of the legislature were returned to him for his fidelity, zeal and patriotism, by the venerable Speaker George Wythe. *

[July, 1777.] Sir William Howe sailed from New York and entering the Chesapeake Bay, proceeded up Elk river, where, [August 25th,] he landed his army consisting of 18,000 men. The American Army, numbering nearly 15,000 men, of whom, however, there were not more than 11,000 effectives, marched about the same time towards the Brandywine. In the Battle of Brandywine, which took place [September 11th, 1777,] Sir William Howe proved victorious. The action was sanguinary and the loss on both sides heavy. The Virginia brigades under Wayne and Weedon were among the troops that particularly distinguished themselves. The 3rd Virginia regiment under command of the brave Colonel Marshall, (father of the Chief Justice,) suffered terribly. † Among the wounded were the Marquis de la Fayette and General Woodford. The enemy passed the night on the field of battle. September 26th the British

* Life of Richard Henry Lee, pp. 192-196. 1 Bland papers, pp. 57-58.

† This regiment, which had performed extremely severe duty in the campaign of 1776, was placed in a wood on the right and in front of Woodford's brigade and Stephen's division. Though attacked by much superior numbers, the 3rd Virginia regiment maintained its position without losing an inch of ground, until both its flanks were turned, its ammunition nearly expended and more than half of the officers and one-third of the soldiers were killed and wounded. Col. Marshall, whose horse had received two balls, then retired to resume his position on the right of his division; but it had already retreated. 1 Marshall's Washington, p. 158.

* Evan. and Lit. Mag., vol. 9, pp. 30-33. The Hanover Presbytery in 1777 presented a Memorial against the Assessment.

army entered Philadelphia. October 4th occurred the battle of Germantown. Here again after a bloody conflict, Washington was compelled to retreat. The 9th Virginia regiment and part of the 6th were made prisoners. Col. Matthews, after penetrating to the centre of the town with his regiment, was made prisoner. In December the American army encamped at Valley Forge.

In the meantime, General Burgoyne, with a well appointed British army of 7,000 men, had advanced from Canada in order to open a communication between that country and New York and to cut off New England from the rest of the States. After capturing Ticonderoga, he moved slowly towards the Hudson river, encountering continual obstructions in his route through a wilderness country and harassed by the American troops. A strong detachment was overwhelmed by Starke and his brave countrymen near Bennington. After a series of engagements in which he suffered a terrible loss, Burgoyne was at length, [17th October, 1777,] forced to surrender his army to Gates at Saratoga.* In consequence of Burgoyne's surrender and of the treaty by which the Americans had secured the alliance of the French, the British army (under command of Sir Henry Clinton, who had relieved Sir William Howe,) evacuated Philadelphia, [June 18, 1778.] Crossing the Delaware, they marched through Jersey for New York. [June 23th, 1778,] occurred the battle of Monmouth. The result was not decisive, but the Americans remained masters of the field. † Sir Henry Clinton occupied

New York. The arrival of a French fleet under Count D'Estaing reanimated the hopes of the Americans. Washington took up a position at White Plains on the Hudson. About this time Col. Baylor's regiment of cavalry was surprised in the night by a British corps under General Gray. Of 104 privates 40 were made prisoners, 27 killed or wounded. Col. Baylor was dangerously wounded and taken. During this year Virginia sent Gen. George Rogers Clarke in an expedition to the Northwest. After enduring extreme sufferings in marching through a wilderness, Clarke and his hardy followers captured Kaskaskias and its governor Rocheblave. [December 15, 1778.] Hamilton, British Lieut. Governor of Detroit, under Sir Guy Carleton, governor-in-chief, took possession of the post of St. Vincennes.* Here he fortified himself, intending in the ensuing spring to rally his Indian confederates—to attack Kaskaskias, then in possession of Col. Clarke, and to proceed up the Ohio to Fort Pitt, sweeping Kentucky in his way, and finally overrunning all West Augusta. This expedition was ordered by Sir Guy Carleton. Clarke's position was too remote for succor, and his force too small to withstand a siege. Nevertheless he prepared to make the best possible defence. At this juncture, however, a Spanish merchant brought intelligence, that Hamilton had, by detaching his Indian allies, reduced the strength of his garrison to 80 men with a few cannon. Clarke immediately despatched a small armed galley with orders to force her way, and station herself a few miles below the enemy. In the meantime, [Feb. 7th, 1779,] he marched with 130 men upon St. Vincennes. † During his march many of the inhabitants of the country joined the expedition; the rest garrisoned the towns. Impeded by rain and high waters, Clarke's

* 1. Marshall's Washington, p. 207.

† Col. Richard Kidder Meade, father of Bishop Meade, of Virginia, was one of Washington's aides-de-camp during the revolutionary war. The following anecdote relative to him, is taken from Aubrey's Travels, vol. 2, pp. 402-404. Aubrey was a lieutenant in the British army and at this time a prisoner of war in Virginia and visiting the lower country on parole. "On my way to this place, I stopt and slept at Tuckahoe, where I met with Colonel Mead, Colonel Laurens, and another officer of General Washington's suite. More than once did I express a wish the General himself had been of the party, to have seen and conversed with a character, of whom in all my travels through the various provinces I never heard any one speak disrespectfully as an individual and whose public character has been the admiration and astonishment of all Europe." * * "The Colonel attributed the safety of his person to the swiftness of this horse, at the battle of Monmouth, having been fired at and pursued by some British officers, as he was reconnoitering. Upon the Colonel's mentioning this circumstance, it occurred to me he must have

been the person that Sir Henry Clinton's Aid-de-Camp had fired at, and requesting to know the particular color of his horse, he informed me it was black, which convinced me it was him; when I related the circumstance of his meeting Sir Henry Clinton, he replied, he recollects in the course of that day to have met several British officers and one of them wore a star. Upon my mentioning the observation Sir Henry Clinton had made to his Aid-de-Camp, the Colonel laughed and replied, "Had he known it had been the Commander-in-chief, he should have made a desperate effort to have taken him prisoner."

* Now Vincennes in Indiana.

† 1. Marshall's Washington, p. 231.

little army were occupied for 16 days in reaching the borders of the Wabash. When within nine miles of the enemy, it required five days to cross "the drowned lands" near that river, "having to wade often upwards of two leagues to our breast in water." But for the mildness of the season they must have perished. On the evening of February 23rd they reached dry land and came unperceived within sight of the enemy. An attack being made at 7 o'clock in the same evening, the inhabitants of St. Vincennes gladly surrendered it and assisted in besieging Hamilton, who held out in the fort. [Feb. 24th.] He surrendered the garrison. Clarke shortly afterwards despatching some armed boats up the Wabash, captured a British convoy including 40 prisoners and £10,000 worth of goods and stores. Hamilton, with some officers and a few privates, was sent to the Governor of Virginia at Williamsburg.* Colonel Shelby about this time attacking the Cherokees who had taken up the tomahawk, killed six, burnt eleven towns and 20,000 bushels of corn and captured £25,000 worth of goods.†

[October 1778.] Washington, in compliance with the resolutions of congress, ordered the removal of the convention troops of Saratoga, then quartered at Cambridge and Rutland, in Massachusetts, to Charlottesville in the county of Albemarle in Virginia.‡ Gen. Burgoyne had sailed for England in May, and from that time the command of the British troops of convention had devolved upon Gen. Phillips. Col. Bland, with an escort, conducted the prisoners of war to Virginia. Upon their arrival they suffered many privations, being billeted in block-houses, without windows or doors, and poorly defended from the cold of an uncommonly rigorous winter. But in a short time they constructed better habitations, and the barracks assumed the appearance of a neat little town. In the rear of each house they had trim gardens and enclosed places for poultry. The officers were

allowed upon giving parole to provide for themselves lodging places within a circuit of a hundred miles. Mr. Jefferson exhibited a liberal hospitality towards the captives, and Governor Henry afforded them every humane indulgence in his power. The amiable disposition of Col. Bland, who commanded the guard placed over the Convention troops, still further ensured their quiet and comfort. General Phillips occupied Blenheim, a seat of Col. Carter's; General de Riedesel, with his family, resided at Colle, seat of Mr. Mazzei. The baroness de Riedesel, whose romantic sufferings at Saratoga are so well known, has given an entertaining account of her sojourn at Colle, in her letters. Charlottesville, at this period, consisted of a courthouse, a tavern and about a dozen dwelling houses.* In 1779 congress was convulsed by dissensions. Some of the members were suspected of treasonable designs, the paper currency was miserably depreciated, speculation raged, dishonesty and corruption preyed upon the public misfortunes, the demoralizing effects of war were manifested and a languor in the cause of independence seemed everywhere to prevail. Washington deemed this a more gloomy period than any that had preceded it. In a letter written at this time to a friend he exclaims, "where are our men of abilities? why do they not come forth to save their country? Let this voice, my dear sir, call upon you, Jefferson and others."

Until 1779 the British arms had been chiefly directed against the Middle and Northern States, but they were now turned against the South. Georgia soon fell a prey to the enemy and South Carolina was invaded. [May 1779.] A British squadron, under Sir George Collier, anchored in Hampton roads, and General Matthews took possession of Portsmouth. The enemy destroyed the public stores at Gosport and Norfolk, burnt Suffolk and destroyed upwards of 100 vessels. Upon the approach of 600 British infantry upon Suffolk, the militia and greater part of the inhabitants fled. Few could save their effects; some who remained for that purpose were made prisoners. The enemy fired the town and nearly the whole of it was destroyed.

* 1. Writings of Jefferson, pp. 451-453.

† Ib. p. 163.

‡ Writings of Washington, vol. vi, pp. 93, 94, 96, 106, 122. [Jan. 1778] Congress, whether from distrust in the British prisoners or from reasons of state, resolved not to comply with the article of the Saratoga Convention allowing the prisoners to embark for England on parole, until the Convention should be ratified by the English government.

1. Marshall's Washington, p. 232.

* Burk, iv. p. 355. Bland Papers, 1, 116 et seq. * Anburey's Travels, 2, 316 and 342 where may be seen an engraving of the encampment of the Convention army. The town was then styled Charlottesville.

ed. Hundreds of barrels of tar, pitch, turpentine and rum lay on the wharves. The heads of the barrels being staved, and their contents, which flowed in a commingled mass, catching the blaze, descended to the river like torrents of volcanic lava. The wind blowing violently, the flaming mass floated to the opposite shore in splendid conflagration and there set on fire the dry grass of an extensive marsh. This broad sheet of fire, the crackling flames of the town, the smoke, the explosion of gunpowder in the magazines, projecting ignited timber like meteors in the air, presented altogether an awful spectacle of the horrors of civil war.* The enemy shortly afterwards, laden with plunder, embarked for New York.

While Sir Henry Clinton was encamped near Haerlem, and Washington in the Highlands on the Hudson, [Aug. 18, 1779,] Major Lee of Virginia surprised, in the night, a British post at Powles Hook, a point on the west bank of the Hudson, and opposite the town of New York and with a loss of two killed and three wounded made 159 prisoners including three officers. Shortly after this affair, a fleet, under Admiral Arbuthnot, arrived at New York with reinforcements for Sir Henry Clinton. Not long after, Count D'Estaing returned to the southern coast of America with a fleet of twenty-two ships of the line, eleven frigates, and having on board 6,000 soldiers. The Count arrived so suddenly, that the British ship Experiment of fifty guns and three frigates fell into his hands. In September, Savannah, occupied by a British force, under General Prevost, was besieged by 3,500 French and 1,000 Americans, commanded by D'Estaing and Lincoln. [October 9th,] in an ineffectual effort to storm the post, the French lost about 700 in killed and wounded, and the Americans 241, while the loss of the enemy was only fifty-five. The siege was now raised, and D'Estaing, who had been wounded in the action, sailed again for the West Indies after this second abortive attempt to aid the cause of independence. The condition of the South was now more gloomy than ever. Sir Henry Clinton, towards the close of 1779, embarked with a large force in Arbuthnot's fleet and sailed for South Carolina. In April Sir Henry laid siege to Charleston and General Lincoln,

after an obstinate defence, was compelled to capitulate, [May 12, 1780.] The loss was about equal and not heavy. The number of continental troops surrendered was 1,977, of whom 500 were in the hospital.* Shortly after this disaster Colonel Busford's regiment was cut to pieces by Tarleton, 113 being killed, 150 wounded, and 53 made prisoners. The British loss was 5 killed, 14 wounded. Georgia and South Carolina now succumbed to the enemy.

[June 1780.] General Gates was appointed to the command in the South. Having collected an army principally militia, he marched against the British forces posted at Camden, in South Carolina, and under command of Lord Cornwallis. While Gates was moving from Clermont towards Camden, in the night, [Aug. 16, 1780,] Cornwallis marched out with a view of attacking the American army at Clermont. Thus the two armies met unexpectedly. At the first onset the American line was thrown into disorder. A body of light infantry, and in particular a corps under command of Colonel Porterfield of Virginia, maintained their ground with undaunted constancy. This brave officer refusing to give way, fell mortally wounded. The battle was resumed in the morning. Upon the approach of the enemy firing and shouting, the Virginia brigade of militia, under General Stevens, threw down their arms ingloriously and in spite of the efforts of their commander fled from the field. Their example was quickly followed by the North Carolina division of militia and others. The right wing of continentals, under De Kalb, thus deserted, held their ground and fought with the utmost valor until overpowered by superior numbers and charged by cavalry. De Kalb fell covered with many wounds. The rout of the Americans was now complete, and after a very heavy loss the army was entirely dispersed. The American army consisted of about 3,000 men, of whom two thirds were regulars. The British numbered about 2,000, of whom 1,900 were regulars. Tarleton, with a strong body of cavalry, assisted Cornwallis, while Gates had only Armand's handful of badly mounted cavalry. Added to this the Americans had suffered from a long march through hot sands and

* iv. Burk, p. 337.

* 1. Marshall's Washington, p. 320.

from a want of provisions. Gates retired to Charlotte in North Carolina.

On the 18th of August Sumpter was overwhelmed by Tarleton, and for a time the British arms were in the ascendant throughout the southern provinces. Cornwallis, [1st of September,] detached Col. Ferguson, a gallant and expert officer, across the Wateree, with 110 regulars. In a short time tory recruits swelled his numbers to 1,000 and, confident of his strength, he sent a menacing message to the patriot leaders on the Western waters. The spirit of the mountaineers was aroused, and by the 30th of September 1,390 men in arms were concentrated on the banks of the Wataga. Of these 400 were from Washington County, Virginia, under Col. William Campbell, the rest from N. Carolina, under Shelby, Sevier, McDowell, Cleveland & Winston. Ferguson, discovering his danger, began to retreat, and [6th of October] took up a strong position on King's mountain. The command of the patriot force was devolved upon Col. Campbell. It was resolved to pursue Ferguson with all the men capable of such active service, amounting to 910. At the Cowpens, where Ferguson had encamped on the 4th, Campbell was re-inforced by 460 men, the greater part from South Carolina under Colonel Williams. At 3 o'clock in the afternoon of the 7th of October the troops advanced up the mountain and surrounded the enemy. Ferguson defended himself with desperate valor and fell mortally wounded. Of his troops 150 were killed, the rest made prisoners. The patriots lost 30 killed and 50 wounded. The gallant Williams was slain. About twenty of the tories were executed on the following day. Colonel Campbell, on this occasion, led on his men with his coat off. He was a native of Augusta county and removed early to the county of Washington. Fame has awarded him the title of "the hero of King's mountain." *

* See account of the battle of King's mountain, by Gen. Joseph Grahame of North Carolina, in Foote's Sketches of North Carolina.

Dodsley's Annual Register for 1781 gives the following account of Col. Ferguson; "He was perhaps the best marksman living, and probably brought the art of rifleshooting to its highest point of perfection. He even invented a gun of that kind upon a new construction, which was said to far exceed in facility and execution any thing of the sort before known, and he is said to have greatly outdone even the American Indians in the adroitness and quickness of firing and loading, and in the certainty of hit-

In 1780, Arthur Lee returned to America after a long absence. This distinguished patriot was born in Westmoreland county, Virginia, December 20th, 1740. He was the youngest of five brothers, all of whom became eminent. After passing some time at Eton, in England, he entered the University of Edinburgh, where he took the degree of doctor of medicine. After travelling through Holland, Germany, Italy and France Dr. Lee returned to Virginia and commenced the practice of his profession at Williamsburg. Although successful, the bent of his genius induced him to return in a short time to England for the purpose of studying the law and fitting himself for taking a part in public affairs. Returning to London he associated himself with Wilkes and other opponents of the Government and prevailed on them to favor the cause of the colonies. About this time he held an amicable discussion with Junius on American matters, subscribing his publications *Junius Americanus*. These procured him the friendship of Burke, Dr. Price and other popular leaders. [1770.] Dr. Lee was admitted to the bar. In the spring of 1774 he set out on a tour to France and Italy and while at Paris, published an appeal to the people of Great Britain. In the same year he succeeded Dr. Franklin as Agent of Massachusetts. The secret committee of Congress appointed Mr. Lee their London correspondent. Through the French ambassador there, he obtained assurances of aid from France to the Colonies. He was afterwards made commissioner to

ting the mark by lying on the back or belly, and in every other possible position of the body." * * "It has been reported that General Washington owed his life at the battle of Brandywine to this gentleman's total ignorance of his person, as he had him sufficiently within reach and view during that action for the purpose." The Annual Register contains a liberal and graphic cotemporaneous account of the war.

The following is a list of some female contributions in Virginia, made in aid of the war, probably in 1780. Mrs. Sarah Cary of Scotchtown a watch-chain, cost £7 sterling; Mrs. Ambler five gold rings; Mrs. Rebecca Ambler three gold rings; Mrs. Nicholas a diamond drop; Mrs. Griffin, of Dover, ten half Joes; Mrs. Gilmer five guineas; Mrs. Anne Ramsay, (for Fairfax,) one half Joe, three guineas, three pistareens, one bit and upwards of 65,000 dollars of paper money; Mrs. Lewis (for Albemarle) £1,559 8 s. paper money; Mrs. Weldon £39, 18s. new instead of £1,600 old paper money; Mrs. Blackburn (for Prince William) \$7,506 paper money; Mrs. Randolph, the younger of Chatsworth, \$800; Mrs. Fitzhugh and others £558. I. Writings of Jefferson, pp. 450-460.

France in conjunction with Silas Deane, to whom Dr. Franklin was afterwards added. Mr. Lee at the same time served as Agent for Virginia and procured from the royal arsenal a large supply of warlike stores for her. [1777.] Congress appointed him Commissioner to Spain, where he obtained a large loan. Still continuing a member of the French Commission, he next went on a secret mission to Berlin, where he negotiated with Frederick successfully in behalf of the American colonies. During his French commission, Mr. Lee had exposed the peculations of some of the subordinate agents, who were employed in conducting the commercial details of the public business. This interference gave rise to many aspersions upon Mr. Lee. [1780.] Resigning he returned to America and prepared to vindicate himself before Congress, but that body expressed their full confidence in his patriotism. [1781.] He was elected to the assembly of Virginia and by it returned to Congress, where he continued to represent the State for several years. He never married.*

During 1780, Mr. Madison took his seat in Congress. James Madison was born March, 1751, (O. S.) in the county of Caroline, Virginia, on the Rappahannock river near Port Royal. He was the son of James Madison, of Orange county, and Nelly Conway his wife. At the age of twelve James Madison was at school under Donald Robertson, a distinguished teacher in the neighborhood, and afterwards under the Rev. Thomas Martin, the parish minister of the established church, who was a private tutor in his father's family. Young Madison was next sent to the College of New Jersey, at Princeton, of which the celebrated Dr. Witherspoon was then president. There Mr. Madison received the degree of bachelor of arts in the autumn of 1771. He had impaired his health at college by too close application. Nevertheless on his return to his home in Virginia, he assiduously pursued a systematic course of reading. He became a member of the legislature of Virginia in May 1776. It was during this session, that the assembly unanimously instructed the deputies of Virginia in Congress to propose the Declaration of Independence. Mr. Madi-

son did not enter into public debate during this session. At the next election, owing to his refusal to electioneer by treating the voters and his diffidence, he was superseded by another. He was however at the ensuing session of the legislature, [1778,] appointed a member of the Council of State. This place he held till 1779, when he was elected to Congress. While he was of the council, Patrick Henry and Thomas Jefferson were governors. Mr. Madison's knowledge of French, (of which Governor Henry was ignorant,) rendered him particularly serviceable in the frequent correspondence held with French officers: he wrote so much for Governor Henry, that, (as is mentioned by Mr. Jefferson,) he was called "the Governor's Secretary." Mr. Madison took his seat in Congress in March, 1780, and he remained a leading member until the fall of 1783. Such was the commencement of the career of this illustrious man, who was destined to pass through every eminent station and to fill all with honor to himself and benefit to his country and to the world. As a writer, a debater, a statesman, a patriot, he was of the first rank and his name goes down to posterity one of the brightest of those that adorn the annals of his country.

Towards the close of December, 1780, a hostile fleet appeared within the capes of the Chesapeake, with a force detached by Sir Henry Clinton from New York under command of the traitor Arnold. A frigate in advance having captured some small vessels, Arnold, with the aid of them, pushed on at once up the James River. Attempting to land at Burwell's Ferry, (the Grove Landing,) his boats were beaten off by 150 militia of Williamsburg and James city, under Col. Innes and General Nelson. Nelson on this occasion retorted a verbal defiance in answer to a letter, with which Arnold had ushered in his invasion. Leaving a frigate and some transports at Burwell's Ferry, Arnold proceeded, [January 4th, 1781,] up the river to Westover. Here landing a force of less than 800 men, † including a small party

* In a series of replies made by Mr. Jefferson to strictures thrown out upon his conduct of affairs at this juncture, the following is found. "Query.—Why publish Arnold's letter without General Nelson's answer? Answer.—Ask the printer. He got neither from the Executive." Burk's Hist. of Va., vol. 4, App., p. 15.

† Simcoe, p. 161.

of badly mounted cavalry, he marched for Richmond at 2 o'clock, P. M. of the same day. Nelson in the meanwhile with a handful of militia, badly supplied with ammunition, had marched up the right bank of the James river, but had arrived too late to offer any opposition to the landing of the enemy. Arnold at one o'clock of the next day after he marched from Westover, entered the infant capital of Virginia, without having encountered any resistance, although his route was very favorable for it.* Simecoe with a detachment proceeded a few miles beyond Richmond, and destroyed the Foundry, emptied the contents of the powder magazine over the cliffs into the James river, struck off the trunnions of the cannon and set fire to the warehouses and mills, the effect of the conflagration being heightened by occasional explosions of gunpowder.† Many small arms and a large stock of military supplies were likewise destroyed at this place. At Richmond the public stores fell a prey to the enemy; private property was plundered; the soldiers breaking into houses procured rum, and several buildings were burnt. Arnold withdrew from Richmond on the 6th, and on the following day encamped at Berkley and Westover. Simcoe in a patrolling excursion in the night surprised a party of 150 militia at Charles City Court House. After some confused firing the militia fled, with small loss. Some few in attempting to escape were drowned in a neighboring mill-pond. In this skirmish, sergeant Adams, of Simcoe's Rangers, was mortally wounded. Dying shortly afterwards, he was buried at Westover, wrapped in some American colors taken a few days before at Hood's.‡ Nelson reinforced at Holt's Forge by a party of Gloucester militia under Col. John Page, finding his whole force not exceeding four hundred men, retreated. On that very night the British, [January 10th,] embarked at Westover and dropped down the James river to Flower-de-Hundred. Here Simcoe was detached with a force to dislodge some militia at Bland's Mills. After marching about two miles, the advance guard in a dense wood were fired on by some Americans posted at the forks of the road in front. The

British lost twenty men killed and wounded, but charging put the militia to flight. Simcoe then returned. Arnold sending a detachment ashore at Hood's, a skirmish ensued with 240 men in ambuscade, under the brave Colonel George Rogers Clarke. The enemy lost 17 killed and 13 wounded at the first fire, when Clarke being charged found it necessary to retreat. John Marshall, afterwards Chief Justice of the United States, was present at this affair. The enemy dismantled the fort at Hood's and carried off the heavy artillery. Nelson in the meantime by a forced march reached Williamsburg just before the enemy's fleet came to off Jamestown. Arnold, however, landed part of his forces at Cobham on the opposite side of the river, and marched down, his ships keeping pace with and occasionally reinforcing him. On the next day, [January 14th,] Nelson paraded about 400 militia at Burwell's Ferry to oppose the landing of the enemy. On the 14th reinforcements arriving augmented Nelson's force to 1,200, but the enemy was now beyond their reach. Col. Griffin and Col. Temple with a party of light horse had hovered near the enemy's lines at Westover and followed the fleet as it dropped down the river. In this party were Colonels William Nelson, Gregory Smith, Holt Richardson, Major Clai-borne Lincoln's aid, Majors Burwell, Ragsdale and others, together with a number of young gentlemen.* Arnold returned to Portsmouth without having encountered any serious interruption.

Thus it happened that while the regular troops of Virginia were serving at a distance in other states, the militia, after a five years war, was so unarmed and undisciplined that no serious resistance was made to this daring invasion. About the time when Arnold reached Portsmouth, some of his artillery-men, foraging on the road towards the Great Bridge, were attacked, their wagons captured and their officer wounded. Simcoe, with a handful of yagers and rangers was detached for the purpose of recovering the wagons. Ferrying across to Herbert's Point they advanced about a mile, when "an artillery-man, who had escaped and lay hid in the bushes,

* Lee's Memoirs.

† Simecoe, p. 163.

‡ Ib., p. 168.

* MS. letter dated Rosewell, January 21, 1781, of Col. John Page to Theodorick Bland, Jr., in my possession. Simcoe, p. 169.

came out and informed him that Lt. Rynd lay not far off. Lt. Col. Simcoe found him dreadfully mangled and mortally wounded; he sent for an ox-cart from a neighboring farm, on which the unfortunate young gentleman was placed; the rain continued in a violent manner, which precluded all pursuit of the enemy; it now grew more tempestuous and ended in a perfect hurricane, accompanied with incessant lightning. This small party slowly moved back towards Herbert's Ferry; it was with difficulty that the drivers and attendants on the cart could find their way; the soldiers marched on with bayonets fixed, linked in ranks together, covering the road. The creaking of the wagon and the groans of the youth added to the horror of the night; the road was no longer to be traced when it quitted the woods, and it was a great satisfaction that a flash of lightning, which glared among the ruins of Norfolk, disclosed Herbert's house. Here a boat was procured which conveyed the unhappy youth to the hospital-ship, where he died the next day." *

Arnold, now ensconced within the fortifications of Portsmouth, was prevented from planning new schemes of devastation by the apprehensions that he now began to entertain for his own safety. [Jan. 26th, 1781.] Richard Henry Lee wrote:—"but surely if secrecy and despatch were used, one ship of the line and two frigates would be the means of delivering Arnold and his people into our hands, since the strongest ship here is a forty-four, which covers all their operations. If I am rightly informed, the militia, now in arms, are strong enough to smother these invaders in a moment, if a marine force was here to second the land operations."† [Feb. 9th, 1781,] a French 64 gun ship, with two frigates under Monsieur De Tilley, sailed for the Chesapeake, and arriving by the 13th threatened Portsmouth. But the ship of the line proving too large to operate against the post, De Tilley, on the 19th, sailed back for Rhode Island. It was a great disappointment to the Virginians that the French admiral could not be persuaded to send a force competent to capture the traitor. Governor Jefferson offered 5,000 guineas for his head. His anxiety for his own safety was relieved by the arrival of a re-inforcement under General

Phillips, [March 27, 1781.] He was an accomplished and able officer, but proud and passionate. Jefferson styled him "the proudest man of the proudest nation on earth." Exasperated by a tedious captivity, upon his exchange he had been indulged by Sir Henry Clinton in a desire to invade Virginia and wreak his vengeance on a province where he had been so long detained, (unjustly, as he, not without some reason, believed,) a prisoner of war. Having united Arnold's force with his own, Phillips, left Portsmouth, [April 18, 1781,] and on the following day the army landed at Burwell's ferry, from which the militia fled precipitately. Phillips, with the main body, marched upon Williamsburg, which he entered without any serious opposition. Simcoe, detached with 40 cavalry, early next morning surprised a few artillerymen at Yorktown, (the rest escaping across the York in a boat,) and burnt "a range of the rebel barracks." The British sloop, Bonetta, anchored off the town. How little did the parties, engaged in this petty episode, anticipate the great events which were destined soon to make that ground classic? The Bonetta, too, was destined to play a part in the close of the drama. Phillips embarked at Barrett's ferry, near the mouth of the Chickahominy. He here issued "the strictest orders to prevent privateers, the bane and disgrace of the country which employs them." But these orders were disregarded. When off Westover he issued further orders saying: "A third object of the present expedition is to gain Petersburg for the purpose of destroying the enemies stores at that place, and it is public stores alone that are intended to be seized." * [April 24th, 1781.] A body of 2,500 men, under Phillips, landed at City Point and passed the night there. On the next morning they marched upon Petersburg. Baron Steuben, with 1,000 militia, disputed the entry of the town. At 2 o'clock the British advanced. They were opposed by a party of militia posted on the heights just beyond Blandford, under Captain House of Brunswick. The enemy were twice broken and during two hours advanced only one mile. At length the Americans being flanked by four pieces of artillery, were compelled to retire over the Appomattox, taking up the

* Simcoe, pp. 171-172.

† Bland Papers, vol. 2, pp. 57-58.

* Simcoe, pp. 190-194.

bridge as soon as they had crossed it. The American loss was estimated at sixty, that of the British was not ascertained.* Lieut. Col. Abercrombie, who commanded the British infantry on this occasion, was the same who afterwards fell in Egypt. Phillips, taking possession of Petersburg, made his headquarters at Bollingbrook. He destroyed a large quantity of tobacco and several vessels at Petersburg. The bridge over the Appomattox being readily repaired, Abercrombie, with a detachment, passed over on the 26th and took possession of the heights opposite the town. Phillips, after committing great devastations at Chesterfield court-house, near Osborne's and at Warwick and Manchester, proceeded down the James river as far as Hog Island. [May 7th.] Phillips receiving orders to join Lord Cornwallis returned up the river to Brandon.† The troops were landed at once there in a gale of wind.

* Col. Banister, in Bland Papers, vol. 2, pp. 68-70, makes the British loss not less than fourteen. Simcoe, pp. 195-198, reports the British loss at only one killed and ten wounded.

John Banister was the son of an eminent botanist of the same name, who settled in Virginia towards the close of the 17th century and devoted himself to the study of plants. In one of his botanical excursions near the falls of the Roanoke, he fell from a rock and was killed. A plant of the decandrous class, in honor of him, is called *Banisteria*. As a naturalist he was esteemed not inferior to Bartram.

John Banister, the son, was educated in England and bred to the law at the Temple in London. Before the revolution he was a member of the Virginia assembly, and early in the revolution, a deputy in the convention which met at Williamsburg. Burk, iv. p. 89. He was a delegate in Congress from Virginia in 1778-9, and one of the framers of the Articles of Confederation. 1781. He was Lieut. Colonel of Horse, under Brigadier General Lawson. The two other colonels, in the same brigade, were John Mercer, afterwards Governor of Maryland, and James Monroe, subsequently president of the United States. During the invasions which Virginia was subjected to, Col. Banister was actively engaged in the efforts made to repel the enemy. Proprietor of a large estate he suffered repeated and heavy losses from the depredations of the British. At one time, it is said, that he supplied a body of troops, then on their way to the southward, with blankets at his own private expense. He resided at Battersea, near Petersburg. He married first, Mary, daughter of Theodorick Bland Sr., and second, Anne, sister of Judge Blair of the Federal Court. Of an excellent and well cultivated mind and refined manners, he was in private life amiable and upright, in public generous, patriotic, and enlightened. As a writer always clear, correct and easy, often elegant and vigorous—he may be ranked with the first of his day. A number of his letters have been published in the Bland Papers.

† Seat of Benjamin Harrison.

General Phillips being taken ill, found it necessary to travel in a carriage. [May 9th.] Part of the troops were sent to City Point in boats; the rest marched upon Petersburg. They arrived there late in the night and surprised a party of American officers engaged in collecting boats for Lafayette to cross his army. For the purpose of covering a convoy on the way to General Greene's army,* [May 10th,] Lafayette, with a strong escort, appeared on the heights opposite Petersburg. The artillery under Col. Gimat cannonaded the enemy's quarters. Bollingbrook, where General Phillips lay ill, was so exposed to the fire, that it was found necessary to remove him into the cellar for security. He died on the 13th.† He lies buried in the old Blandford church. Upon his death the command devolved on Arnold. He sent an officer with a flag and a letter to Lafayette. As soon as he saw Arnold's name at the foot of the letter he refused to read it, and told the officer that he would hold no intercourse whatever with Arnold, but with any other officer, he should be ever ready to interchange the civilities which the circumstances of the two armies might render desirable. Washington highly approved of this proceeding. † Already before the death of General Phillips, Simcoe had been detached to meet Cornwallis, who was advancing from North Carolina. Simcoe on his route to the Roanoke captured, some miles to the South of the Nottoway river, Colonel Gee, at his residence, "a rebel militia officer," who refusing to give his parole, was sent prisoner to Major Armstrong. Another "rebel Colonel" Hicks, mistaking Simcoe's party for an advanced guard of Lafayette's army, was also made prisoner. At Hick's Ford a captain with thirty militia-men were taken by a *ruse de guerre* and compelled to give their paroles. Simcoe on his return towards Petersburg met with Tarleton and his "legion clothed in white" at Hicks' Ford. §

* Almond's Remembrancer for 1781, p. 108.

† Lee 286. Marshall in Life of Washington, Vol. 1, p. 435, in note, has inadvertently said, that "Phillips died the day on which he entered Petersburg."

† Spark's Writings of Washington, vol. 8, p. 61.

§ Simcoe, pp. 207-208-210.

CHAPTER XXXV.

1781.

Henry Lee; John Tyler; Cornwallis enters Virginia; Lafayette retreats; Simcoe's expedition to the Point of Fork; Tarleton's expedition to Charlottesville; Cornwallis marches towards the Point of Fork; Devastations of the enemy; Lafayette reinforced by Wayne marches to Albemarle old Court-House; Cornwallis retires to the lower country; Is followed by Lafayette; Skirmish at Spencer's plantation; Cornwallis prepares to cross the James near Jamestown; Lafayette makes an unsuccessful attack upon the enemy; Lafayette encamps near West Point.

Henry Lee was born January 29th, 1756, in Virginia. His family was old and respectable and his father was for many years a member of the house of Burgesses of Virginia. Henry receiving the early part of his education from a private tutor at home, afterwards pursued his studies at the college of New Jersey, under the presidency of the celebrated Dr. Witherspoon* and was graduated there, [1774,] in his eighteenth year. [1776.] When twenty years of age, on the nomination of Patrick Henry, he was appointed Captain of one of six companies of cavalry raised by Virginia, the whole being under command of Col. Theodorick Bland. [September, 1777.] The regiment joined the main army, where Lee by his discipline, vigilance and efficiency, soon won the confidence of Washington, who selected him and his company for a body-guard at the battle of Germantown. While Lee lay near the British lines a plan was devised to cut him off. A body of 200 cavalry surprised him in his quarters, a stone house where he had with him but ten men. Yet with these he made a gallant defence and obliged the enemy to retreat, after having lost four men killed, together with several horses and an officer with three privates wounded. Of his own party besides the patrols and quarter-master-sergeant, who were made prisoners out of the house, he had but two wounded. Washington complimented Lee on his gallantry in this little affair, and Congress shortly afterwards promoted him to the rank of Major with the command of an independent partisan corps

of horse. [July 19th, 1779.] Major Lee distinguished himself by surprising the British garrison at Powles Hook, where he captured 160 prisoners, with the loss of only two killed and three wounded of his own men. Congress in reward of this achievement, presented him with a gold medal. Early in 1780 Lee, now Lieutenant Colonel, with his legion, joined the army of the South under General Greene. In this General's retreat before Cornwallis, Lee's legion formed part of the rear-guard of the American army. During this retreat Lieutenant Colonel Lee charging upon Tarleton's dragoons, killed eighteen and made a Captain and several privates prisoners. After Greene had effected his escape, he detached Lee with Colonel Pickens to watch the movements of Cornwallis. Lee with his legion, by a stratagem, surprised four hundred armed loyalists under Colonel Pyle, of whom ninety were killed and many wounded. At the battle of Guilford Lee's legion distinguished itself. When Cornwallis retired upon Wilmington, it was by the advice of Lee, that General Greene moved at once into South Carolina. Lee detached with his legion joined the militia under the gallant Marion. Forts Watson, Motte and Granby speedily surrendered. Lee now joined Pickens for the purpose of attacking Fort Augusta, which was reduced. In the unfortunate assault upon Fort Ninety-Six, Lee was entirely successful in the part of the attack entrusted to his care. At the battle of the Eutaw Springs, he contributed to the success of the day.

John Tyler was born at his father's residence about four miles from Williamsburg, in the county of James City, in the year 1748. His father, whose name he bore, was marshal for the colony of Virginia under the royal government and his mother was the daughter of Doctor Contesse of Williamsburg, one of the protestants driven from France by the Revocation of the edict of Nantes, and who finding a home in Virginia, passed here an irreproachable and useful life. John Tyler, younger of two sons of this union, (the elder of whom died young,) while in Williamsburg and its vicinity, enjoyed frequent opportunities of attending the debates of the House of Burgesses and had the good fortune to hear Patrick Henry in the stormy discussion on his resolutions

* He was one of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence.

of 1765. The animation with which Mr. Tyler in the decline of life related his recollections of that debate, proved how deep an impression it had made on him. He became a warm and decided opponent of the tyrannical pretensions of the mother country, and avowed his opinions on this subject in so bold a tone, that his father often predicted to him that sooner or later he would be executed for high treason. Mr. Tyler studied the law under Mr. Nicholas, Treasurer of the colony. While thus engaged, he formed an acquaintance with Thomas Jefferson, which ripened into a close friendship, terminated only by death. The society of the ardent Jefferson, fanned the flame of young Tyler's patriotism and he became at an early day the advocate of the independence of the colonies. About the year 1774 having obtained his license, he removed to the county of Charles City, where he took up his permanent abode. Successful in the practice of the law, he was after a brief interval elected a delegate from that county. He was re-elected for several years, his colleague for the greater part of that time, being Benjamin Harrison, Jr., of Berkeley, whom Mr. Tyler succeeded as Speaker of the House of Burgesses. After the lapse of many years Mr. Tyler's son, of the same name, succeeded General William Henry Harrison, son of Benjamin Harrison, Jr., in the Presidency of the Union. Mr. Tyler, the Revolutionary patriot, while a member of the Virginia assembly, contracted a close friendship with Patrick Henry, for whom he entertained an almost idolizing veneration. They corresponded for many years. Mr. Tyler participated largely in the debates of the assembly and on all occasions exhibited himself a devoted patriot and thorough-bred republican. In subsequent years he filled several eminent stations. In private life his virtues won esteem; in public, his talents and worth commanded the confidence of his country.

That able commander, Cornwallis, after his disastrous victory of Guilford, in North Carolina, retreated towards the sea-coast and arrived at Wilmington [April 7th, 1781.] [April 25th,] he marched for Petersburg in Virginia. To facilitate the passage of the intervening rivers, two boats mounted on

carriages accompanied the army.* Tarleton led the advance. While the main army was yet on the left bank of the Roanoke, Cornwallis who had passed it, upon overtaking Tarleton's detachment, ordered them to be dismounted and formed in line for the inspection of some of the inhabitants to enable them to discover the men who had committed some horrid outrages on the preceding evening. A sergeant and a dragoon being pointed out as the offenders, were remanded to Halifax, condemned by a court-martial and executed.† His lordship was prompted to such acts of discipline, by his moderation and humanity as well by a desire to avoid any new exasperation of the people of the country and by a hope of alluring to his standard the numerous loyalists of North Carolina. [May 19th, 1781.] Cornwallis reached Petersburg. With the remnant of his Carolina army he now united the troops under Arnold, consisting of a detachment of Royal Artillery, two battalions of light infantry, the 76th and 80th British regiments, the Hessian regiment of Prince Héreditaire, Simcoe's corps of cavalry and infantry called "the Queen's Rangers," chiefly tories, one hundred yagers and Arnold's American Legion, likewise tories, the whole amounting to about 2,500 men, which together with the Carolina army, made his lordship's force at Petersburg about 4,500. The entire field force now under his command in Virginia was not less than 7,300, including 400 dragoons and 700 or 800 mounted infantry.‡ He now received certain intelligence from Lord Rawdon of his defeat of General Greene at Hobkirk's Hill. Cornwallis remained three or four days at Petersburg. Light troops and spies were despatched to discover Lafayette's position. He was found posted near Wilton, an old seat of the Randolphs, on the James river, a few miles below Richmond, with 1,000 regulars and 3,000 militia, the main body of them under command of Gen. Nelson. Lafayette was expecting reinforcements of militia and of Wayne with the Pennsylvania brigade. In compliance with the orders of Governor Jefferson, continental or regular officers were substituted in the higher commands of the

* Tarleton, p. 235.

† Idem., p. 290. Lee, p. 286.

‡ Lee, p. 288. Tarleton, p. 395.

militia. Three corps of light infantry of 250 each and consisting of select militia marksmen, were placed under command of Majors Call, Willis and Dick of the continental line. Lafayette's cavalry were only the remnant of Armand's corps, sixty in number, and a troop of volunteer dragoons under Capt. Carter Page, late of Baylor's regiment. * General Weedon not now in the service, owing to a diminution in the number of officers, was requested to collect a corps of militia to protect a manufactory of arms at Falmouth, opposite Fredericksburg on the Rappahannock. Tarleton patroled from Petersburg as far as Warwick. Surprising near there 400 militia, he made fifty prisoners and brought them to Petersburg. In the meantime General Leslie arrived at the mouth of the James river, with a reinforcement sent by Sir Henry Clinton from New York. Cornwallis upon receiving intelligence of it ordered Leslie to repair to Portsmouth with the 17th British regiment and two battalions of Anspach and the 43rd to join the main army. His lordship now proceeded with his forces to Macocks, (opposite Westover,) on the James, where being joined by the 43rd, he crossed over. † The passage occupied nearly three days. The horses swam by aid of boats, the river there being two miles wide. ‡ "Brigadier General Arnold obtained leave to return to New York, where business of consequence demanded his attendance." The British officers had found it irksome to serve under him. The force of Cornwallis now amounted to 8,000. Lafayette hearing of this movement of the enemy, crossed the Chickahominy and retreated towards Fredericksburg, with the view of covering the manufactory of arms at Falmouth and of meeting Wayne. Cornwallis pursued with celerity, but finding Lafayette beyond his reach gave out the chase § and encamped on the banks of the North Anna || in Hanover county. Lafayette who had been hotly pursued by Tarleton, retreated precipitately beyond Fredericksburg. It was on this occasion that Cornwallis in a letter said of Lafayette, "the boy

cannot escape me." * Cornwallis now detached Simcoe with 500 men, Queen's rangers and yagers, with a three pounder, the cavalry amounting to one hundred. The object of the expedition was to destroy the Arsenal, lately erected at the Point of Fork and the military stores there. The Point of Fork is the angle contained between the two branches of the James river, in the county of Fluvanna. Here during the recent predatory incursions of Phillips and Arnold, a State Arsenal had been established and military stores collected, with an especial view to the prosecution of the war in the Carolinas. The protection of this post had been entrusted to the able Prussian officer, the Baron Steuben. His force consisted of 600 new levies, originally intended for the Southern army and an equal number of militia under General Lawson. † Cornwallis however informed Simcoe, that the Baron's force was only three or four hundred. ‡

* "All I learnt by a conversation with Mr. Bird, [landlord of Bird's Ordinary in New Kent,] was, that he had been pillaged by the English, when they passed his house in their march [from] Westover, in pursuit of Monsieur de la Fayette, and in returning to Williamsburgh, after endeavoring in vain to come up with him. It was comparatively nothing to see their fruits, fowls and cattle carried away by the light troops which formed the van-guard; the army collected what the van-guard had left; even the officers seized the rum and all kinds of provisions, without paying a farthing for them; this hurricane, which destroyed every thing in its passage, was followed by a scourge yet more terrible: a numerous rabble, under the title of *Refugees* and *Loyalists*, followed the army, not to assist in the field, but to partake of the plunder. The furniture and clothes of the inhabitants were in general the sole booty left to satisfy their avidity; after they had emptied the houses, they strip the proprietors; and Mr. Bird repeated with indignation, that they had taken from him by force, the very boots from off his legs,"—2 Chastellux's Travels, pp. 3-7. "Mr. Tilghman, our landlord [at Hanover Court House,] though he lamented his misfortune in having lodged and boarded Lord Cornwallis and his retinue, without his Lordship's having made him the least recompense, could not yet help laughing at the fright which the unexpected arrival of Tarleton spread amongst a considerable number of gentlemen, who had come to hear the news, and were assembled at the Court House. A negro on horseback came full gallop to let them know that Tarleton was not above three miles off. The resolution of retreating was soon taken, but the alarm was so sudden, and the confusion so great, that every one mounted the first horse he could find, so that few of those curious gentlemen returned upon their own horses." Ib., p. 14.

† Burk's Hist. of Va., vol. 4, p. 496-497. Lee, p. 293. ‡ Simcoe held the Earl's military intelligence in slight respect. Thus on page 226, he says, "He had received no advices from Lord Cornwallis, whose general intelligence he knew to be very bad." "The slightest reliance was not to be placed on any patrols from his lordship's army."

* Lee, p. 287.

† Tarleton, p. 291. Lee, p. 288.

‡ Tarleton, p. 342.

§ Lee, p. 290

|| Several rivers in Virginia were called after Queen Anne—the Rivanna, the Rapidan, the Fluvanna, the North Anna and the South Anna.

Lieutenant Spencer with twenty hussars formed Simcoe's advanced guard of chosen men mounted on fleet horses. Simcoe crossing the South Anna pushed on with his accustomed celerity, by Byrd's Ordinary towards Napier's Ford on the Rivanna. No inhabitant of the country coming within view, escaped capture. From some of the prisoners intelligence was obtained that Steuben was at the Point of Fork and in the act of crossing to the South side of the James river. The Baron adopted this measure in consequence of intelligence of Tarleton's incursion. Within two miles of Steuben's camp, a patrol of dragoons appeared, was chased and taken. It consisted of a French officer and four of Armand's corps. The advanced men of Spencer's guard changed clothes with the prisoners, for the purpose of attempting to surprise the Baron at the only house at the Point of Fork. Just as Simcoe was about to give the order to his men to lay down their knapsacks in preparation for an engagement, the advanced guard brought in a prisoner, Mr. Farley, Baron Steuben's aid, who had mistaken them for the patrol which had just been captured. Mr. Farley assured Simcoe that "he had seen every man over the Fluvanna before he left the Point of Fork." This was confirmed by some waggoners, who with their teams were now taken. Simcoe's cavalry advancing, plainly saw the Baron's force on the opposite side. About thirty of Steuben's people collected on the bank where the embarkation had taken place, were captured. Simcoe employed stratagem to persuade the Baron that the party was Earl Cornwallis's whole Army, so as to cause the arms and stores that covered the opposite banks to be abandoned. Captain Hutchinson with the 71st regiment clothed in red, was directed to approach the banks of the Fluvanna, while the baggage and women halted in the woods, on the summit of a hill where they made the appearance of a numerous corps. The woods mystified their numbers and numerous camp-fires aided the deception. The three-pounder was carried down and one shot fired, by which was killed the horse of one of Steuben's orderly dragoons. The Baron was encamped on the heights on the opposite side, about three quarters of a mile back from the river. He had passed the

Fluvanna in consequence of intelligence of Tarleton's incursion, which he apprehended was aimed at him. The river was broad and unfordable, and Steuben was in possession of all the boats. Simcoe himself was now in an exposed position, but his apprehensions were relieved, when the Baron's people were heard at night destroying their boats with great noise. At midnight they made up their camp-fires. Soon after a deserter and a little drummer-boy passed over in a canoe and gave information that Steuben had marched off on the road by Cumberland Court-House, towards North Carolina. * The drummer-boy belonged to the 71st regiment; he had been taken prisoner at the Cowpens, had enlisted in Morgan's army and now making his escape, happened to be received by a picket guard which his own father commanded. On the following morning, by aid of some canoes, Simcoe sent across the river Captain Stevenson with twenty light infantry and Cornet Wolsey with four hussars, who carried their saddles with them. The infantry detachment were ordered to bring off such supplies as Simcoe might need and to destroy the remainder. The hussars were directed to mount upon such straggling horses as they could find and patrol in Steuben's wake. Both orders were successfully executed. The stores were destroyed and Steuben's retreat accelerated. Simcoe in the meantime employed his force in constructing a raft, by which he might pass the Rivanna at its junction with the South Anna. There was destroyed a large quantity of arms, the greater part of them, however, out of repair, together with ammunition and military stores. The quantity and value of property destroyed were greatly exaggerated by the enemy. Simcoe took away also a mortar, five brass howitzers and four long brass nine pounders, mounted afterwards at Yorktown. † According to Simcoe's opinion, a small guard left by Steuben would have protected these stores. The want of military intelligence exhibited on this occasion is what the disaster must be attributed to.

* Simcoe, pp. 212-223. Lee, pp. 293-294.

† Simcoe, p. 223. These may perhaps be the brass pieces recaptured at Yorktown, now to be found at the Armory at Richmond. Tarleton, Cornwallis and the historian Stedman, it is said, have exaggerated the American loss. Burk, vol. 4, p. 498.

At the same time when Simcoe was detached, Lord Cornwallis had sent out, [June, 1781,] that other distinguished partisan, Tarleton, with 180 cavalry, and 70 mounted infantry of the 23rd regiment under Captain Champagne, with instructions to surprise the Virginia Assembly, then sitting at Charlottesville, to seize Mr. Jefferson at Monticello, near that town, and to destroy such stores as could be of use to the Americans. Tarleton moving rapidly towards Charlottesville, met with twelve wagons laden with clothing for the Southern army and he burnt them. Learning that a number of gentlemen, who had escaped from the lower country, were assembled, some at Dr. Walker's, the others at Mr. John Walker's, * Tarleton despatched Captain Kinloch, with a party, to Mr. John Walker's, while he proceeded with the rest to the doctor's mansion. Here he surprised Col. John Syme, a half-brother to Patrick Henry, and some other gentlemen, who were found asleep, † it being early in the morning. Captain Kinloch captured Francis Kinloch, (his relative ‡ and a delegate to congress from South Carolina,) together with William and Robert Nelson, brothers to General Thomas Nelson. Mr. Iouitte, one of the inmates, effecting his escape on a fleet horse, conveyed intelligence of Tarleton's approach, to Charlottesville, so that the greater part of the members of the Assembly escaped. Tarleton, after a delay of some hours, entered Charlottesville. Seven Burgesses fell into his hands and the public stores there were destroyed.

Captain McCleod, with a troop of horse, visited Monticello and reached the house a few moments after Mr. Jefferson had fled. The magnificent prospect visible there, must have afforded some compensation to the party for their disappointment. While Tarle-

* Belvoir, about seven miles from Charlottesville, and residence of the late Judge Hugh Nelson.

† Lee, pp. 294-295. Tarleton, p. 296. It is said that as one of the gentlemen, who was rather en-bon-point and who had found time to put on nothing but his breeches, ran across the yard in full view of the British dragoons, they burst into a fit of laughter at so unique and extraordinary a phenomenon.

‡ There is a family tradition, that when this Captain Kinloch was about to leave England, the Ladies of his family playfully begged him not to kill their cousin in America, and that he replied, "No, but I will be sure to take him prisoner"—which jocular prediction was thus fulfilled. See Lee, p. 295, in note.

ton was in the neighborhood of Charlottesville, 20 British and Hessian prisoners of "the Convention troops," cantoned with the planters, joined him. The prisoners of distinction, captured by Tarleton, were treated with lenity, being detained only a few days, on their parole not to escape; "the lower class were secured as prisoners of war." * "The prisoners of note" were released at Elkhill, on their paroles.

Earl Cornwallis, with the main army, arriving, [June 7th,] near the Point of Fork, Simcoe and Tarleton rejoined him. [June 9th.] Simcoe was detached to the Seven Islands, where he destroyed 150 barrels of gunpowder, and burnt the tobacco in the ware-houses on the river side. Some militiamen were surprised and made prisoners. † The British army was now encamped along the bank of the James river, from the Point of Fork to Elkhill, ‡ a plantation of Mr. Jefferson's, where Cornwallis for ten days made his headquarters. This plantation was utterly laid waste by the enemy. Wherever his lordship's army went, plantations were despoiled and private houses plundered. During the six months of his stay in Virginia, she lost 30,000 slaves, of whom the greater part died of small pox and camp fever, and the rest were shipped to the West Indies, Nova Scotia, &c. The whole devastations committed by the British army, during these six months, was estimated at upwards of thirteen millions of dollars.

Lafayette being joined by Wayne's brigade, eight or nine hundred strong, marched at once towards Albemarle old Court-house, where some magazines remained uninjured by the British. He succeeded in saving these stores from the attempts of Tarleton. Lafayette, at Albemarle Court-house, was joined by Col. Campbell, the hero of King's Mountain, with his brave riflemen. § Cornwallis now, in accordance with advices from Sir Henry Clinton, retired to the lower country and was followed by Lafayette, who had in the meantime, above Richmond, been reinforced by Steuben, with his 600 levies and

* Tarleton, p. 298.

† Simcoe, p. 223.

‡ It was here, that Mr. Jefferson, when confined by an arm fractured by a fall from a horse, composed his "Notes on Virginia."

§ Lee, p. 297.

by the militia. Cornwallis halted for a few days at Richmond. Simcoe was posted at Westham, Tarleton at the Meadow Bridge.* Lafayette's army amounted now to 4,500, of whom one half were regulars and of these 1,500 were veterans. He was still inferior to Cornwallis in numbers, by one third, and very deficient in cavalry.† Cornwallis leaving Richmond, [June 20th, 1781,] reached Williamsburg on the 25th.‡ Lafayette followed and passing Richmond, arrived at New Kent Court-house on the day after the British general had left it. Lafayette now took a position on Tyre's plantation, twenty miles from Williamsburg. Cornwallis having detached Simcoe, to destroy some boats and stores on the Chickahominy, that energetic and accomplished partisan performed the service with his accustomed promptness. Lafayette discovering this march of Simcoe, detached Col. Butler, of the Pennsylvania line, in quest of him. Butler's van consisting of the rifle corps, under Majors Call and Willis, and the cavalry—the whole not exceeding 120 effectives, was led by Major McPherson of Pennsylvania. Having mounted some infantry behind the remnant of Armand's dragoons, he overtook Simcoe on his return, near Spencer's plantation, about six miles above Williamsburg, at the Forks of the roads leading to Williamsburg and Jamestown. The ground there, in Simcoe's phrase, was "admirably adapted to the chicanery of action."§ The suddenness of McPherson's attack threw the yagers into confusion, but they were firmly supported by the Queen's Rangers.|| Call and Willis having now joined McPherson, a warm conflict ensued. Simcoe found occasion for all his resources. The advanced party of Butler's corps was repulsed and fell back in confusion upon the continentals. Simcoe satisfied with this advantage, retired. Both parties claimed the advantage in this rencontre. The loss of the British was eleven killed and twenty-six wounded. The loss of the Americans is not

reported, except that three officers and twenty-eight privates were made prisoners. The number of killed and wounded probably exceeded that of the British.* Major McPherson was unhorsed, but crept into a swamp and made his escape. Simcoe after retreating two miles towards Williamsburg, met Lord Cornwallis, with the advance of his army, coming to his relief. Coret Jones, who had fallen in the skirmish, was buried at Williamsburg on the next day with military honors. Col. Butler, the American commander in the action, was the same who afterwards fell at St. Clair's defeat, being on that occasion second in command.†

June 28th, Cornwallis with an escort of cavalry, under Simcoe, visited Yorktown, for the purpose of examining the capabilities of that post. His lordship formed an unfavorable opinion of it. The party was ineffectually fired at from Gloucester Point and returned on the same day to Williamsburg. After halting here nine days, Cornwallis, [4th of July,] marched and encamped near Jamestown island, for the purpose of crossing the James river and proceeding to Portsmouth. The Queen's Rangers passed over the river in the evening of the same day, to cover the baggage which was now transported. Lafayette, as Cornwallis had predicted, now advanced, with the hope of striking at the rear-guard only of the enemy, supposing upon imperfect intelligence that the main body had already crossed to the left bank of the river. Accordingly about sunset, [July 6th, 1781,] Lafayette attacked Cornwallis and after a warm conflict, was compelled to retreat, having discovered that he was engaged by the main body of the British army. Of the continental troops, 118, including ten officers, were killed, wounded or taken. Some cannon also fell into the hands of the enemy. The British state their loss at five officers and seventy privates, killed and wounded. Cornwallis now crossed the James and marched [9th of July] for Portsmouth.

Lafayette re-inforced by some dragoons from Baltimore, retired to a strong position near West Point, at the head of York river. The militia had already been discharged.

* Tarleton, p. 300.

† Lee, p. 299.

‡ Tarleton, p. 301.

§ Simcoe, p. 227.

|| Trumpeter Barney gave the alarm to the Rangers, exclaiming, "draw your swords Rangers, the Rebels are coming." Simcoe, p. 228. Barney captured a French officer.

* Simcoe, pp. 227-237. He gives a plan of the affair and says that he "considered this action as the climax of a campaign of five years, p. 234.

† Lee, p. 300.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

1781.

Cornwallis fortifies Yorktown and concentrates his forces there. Washington invests Yorktown. The capitulation.

[August 2nd, 1781.] Cornwallis occupied Yorktown and Gloucester Point and fortified them. He concentrated the whole British force in Virginia, at those posts, by the 22nd of August. Gloucester Point opposite Yorktown was held by the 80th regiment and the Hessian regiment of Prince Hereditaire and the Queen's rangers,—the whole under command of the brave and energetic Lieutenant Colonel Dundas of the artillery. Tarleton with his cavalry afterwards passed over to Gloucester Point, and Dundas, during the siege that ensued, being ordered over to Yorktown, the command at Gloucester Point devolved on Simcoe, who being incapable of holding it on account of feeble health was succeeded by Tarleton.

Lafayette hearing of the movements of the enemy now broke up his camp on the banks of the Pamunkey and drew nearer to Yorktown. In the meantime Washington relinquishing his efforts to dislodge Sir Henry Clinton from New York, concerted with the French naval and military commanders a plan of operations against Cornwallis, and with the combined American and French armies marched for Virginia. August 30th, Count de Grasse with a fleet arrived from the West Indies and entered the Chesapeake Bay. On the 31st his advanced ships blocked up the mouth of the York.* [September 5th.] A partial engagement occurred between him and the English admiral Graves. On the 10th Count de Barras joined de Grasse with a naval force from Rhode Island. Lafayette now made his head-quarters at Williamsburg. Washington attended by Count de Rochambeau, commander-in-chief of the French army and the Chevalier de Chastellux, reached that place on the 14th, and repairing on board the Ville de Paris, the French admiral's ship, arranged the plan of the siege of York. By the 25th, the combined army, amounting to 12,000 men, together with 5,000 militia under General Nelson, were concentrated at

Williamsburg. [September 28th,] the allies advanced upon York and invested it, the Americans forming the right below the town, the French the left above it, and each extending from the borders of the river, so as to hem in the town by a semicircle. General De Choisy invested Gloucester Point with 3,000 men. The enemy's communication, by water, was entirely cut off by the French ships, stationed at the mouth of the York river. Cornwallis some time before this, finding his situation growing so critical, had anxiously solicited aid from Sir Henry Clinton. Aid was promised but it never arrived. Washington was assisted by Lincoln, Steuben, Lafayette, Knox, &c. The French were commanded by General the Count Rochambeau.

On the 29th the British commenced a cannonade, and during the night abandoned some redoubts and retired within the town. Col. Alexander Scammel while reconnoitering the ground just abandoned by the enemy, was surprised by a party of horse and after he had surrendered, received a wound from a Hessian, of which he died in a few days, greatly lamented. On the 3rd of October, in a skirmish before Gloucester Point, Tarleton was unhorsed and narrowly escaped being made prisoner. The British sent out from Yorktown a number of negroes infected with the small pox. On the night of the 7th, the first parallel was extended two miles in length, and within 600 yards of the British lines. By the evening of the 9th several batteries being completed, Washington himself put the match to the first gun and a heavy fire was opened. The cannonade continued till the 15th. Cornwallis was driven from Secretary Nelson's house where he had made his head-quarters.* A red-hot shell from a

* Upon the breaking out of the revolution, secretary Nelson, who had been long a member of the Council, retired from public affairs. He lived at Yorktown, where he had erected a handsome house, adorned with "a chimney-piece and some bas relief of very fine marble exquisitely sculptured." Lord Cornwallis made his head quarters in this house, which stood near his line of defensive works. It soon attracted the attention of the French artillery and was almost entirely destroyed. Secretary Nelson was in it when the first shot killed one of his negroes at a little distance from him. What increased his solicitude was that he had two sons in the American army, so that every shot whether fired from the town or from the trenches might prove equally fatal to him. When a flag was sent in to request that he might be conveyed within the American lines, one of his sons was observed gazing wistfully at the

French battery set fire to the Charon, a British 44 gun ship, and two or three smaller vessels, which were consumed in the night. The ships were wrapped in a torrent of fire, which ran like lightning over the rigging and to the tops of the masts. A second parallel was now completed and batteries erected within 300 yards of the enemy's works. The British had two redoubts about 300 yards in front of their lines and it was resolved to take them by assault. The one on the left of the enemy, bordering the banks of the river, was assigned to a brigade of light infantry under Lafayette. The advanced corps was conducted by Col. Alexander Hamilton assisted by Col. Gimat. The attack commenced at 8 o'clock in the evening and the assailants entered the fort with the point of the bayonet, without firing a gun. The American loss was eight killed and thirty wounded. Major Campbell who commanded the fort was wounded and made prisoner with about thirty soldiers; the rest escaped. During the assault the British kept up a fire along their whole line. Washington, Lincoln and Knox, with their aids, having dismounted, stood in an exposed situation awaiting the result. The other redoubt on the right of the British was taken at the same time, by a detachment of the French, commanded by Baron de Viomenil. He lost about 100 men killed and wounded. Of the enemy at this redoubt, eight-

gate of the town, by which the aged secretary was to come out. Cornwallis permitted his withdrawal and he was taken to Washington's head quarters. Upon alighting, with a serene countenance he related to the French officers who stood around him, what had been the effect of their batteries and how much his mansion had suffered from the first shot. 2 Chastellux, pp. 24-27.

teen were killed and forty-five captured, including three officers. By this time many of the British guns were silenced and their works were becoming ruinous. About 4 o'clock on the morning of the 16th, Col. Abercrombie, with 400 men, made a sortie against two unfinished redoubts occupied by the French. After spiking some cannon, the British were driven back with a small loss on each side. One hundred pieces of heavy ordinance were now in full play against the enemy. The British had nearly ceased firing. On the 17th, Cornwallis by a flag requested a cessation of hostilities. On the 19th of October, 1781, the British forces at Yorktown and Gloucester Point were surrendered. At about 12 o'clock, the combined army was drawn up along a road, in two lines, extending more than a mile, the Americans on the right, the French on the left. At the head of the American line, Washington appeared on horseback surrounded by his aids. At the head of the French line was posted Count Rochambeau. The concourse of spectators from the country was equal in number to the military. At 2 o'clock the captive army advanced through the line formed for their reception. Cornwallis pretending indisposition was not present. His place was filled on the occasion by General O'Hara. This officer mounted on a fine charger, made the surrender. The loss during the siege was, French 50 killed, 127 wounded; Americans 27 killed, 73 wounded. According to Cornwallis' account, his loss was 156 killed, 326 wounded, 70 missing; total, 552. The whole number of men surrendered, 7,247; 75 brass, 169 iron cannon; 7,794 muskets with stores, money and 28 colors.

APPENDIX.

The following Memoir of the Battle of Point Pleasant was composed by my uncle, the late Dr. Samuel L. Campbell, of Rockbridge county, Virginia. He married, in 1794, a sister of the Rev. Dr. Archibald Alexander, Professor in the Theological Seminary, of Princeton and died at an advanced age, in 1840. During several years previous to his death, he was blind, and it was during this period, that he dictated to his children the following narrative. It so happened that when I was preparing my own manuscript of the "Introduction to the History of the Colony and Ancient Dominion of Virginia," for the press, a copy of my uncle's Memoir was communicated to me by his son, the Rev. Samuel D. Campbell, and, with his consent, it is here published, and I am happy in having it in my power to lay before the reader so interesting a production.

Memoir of the Battle of Point Pleasant, by Samuel L. Campbell, M. D., of Rockbridge County, Virginia.

The following Memoir relates to an eventful period in the history of Western Virginia, comprising all the years from 54 to 79 of the last century. At first nothing more was contemplated than a short account of the campaign of 74, but on examination, that transaction was found to be so intimately connected with others, both anterior and subsequent, that it was judged best to give greater latitude to the memoir. It has been chiefly formed from recollections partly of some portions of history which the writer met with many years ago; partly from the narratives of sundry persons, most of whom had been actors in the Indian wars. Resting as it does so much upon memory, there may be inaccuracies, and incidents may have been overlooked, which should have been noticed. But these it is thought will not be of much importance, when it is known that the writer in want of sufficient materials, was unable to go much into detail. The memoir itself is little more than an outline or general view, and therefore can possess little interest otherwise than as it excites enquiry and attracts attention to a subject important indeed, but hitherto neglected. The inhabitants of this country are very imperfectly acquainted with its history. This remark applies particularly to that section commonly called the Valley of Virginia,

which lying along the Blue Ridge, stretches from the Potomac to the Alleghany mountain. Of this many of the inhabitants know little more than what they see. They see a country possessing salubrity and fertility, yielding plentifully, in great variety, most of the necessaries of life; a country which has advantages, conveniences and blessings, in abundance, in profusion, I had almost said in superfluity. But they know not how it came into the hands of the present occupants; they know not who were the first settlers, whence they came, at what time, in what numbers, nor what difficulties they had to encounter, nor what was the progress of population. One who would become acquainted with these matters, must travel back a century or more; he must witness the early adventurers leaving the abodes of civilization and singly, or in families, or in groups, composed of several families, like pioneers on a forlorn hope, entering the dark, dreary, trackless forest, which had been for ages the nursery of wild-beasts and the pathway of the Indian. After traversing this inhospitable solitude for days or weeks and having become weary of their pilgrimage, they determined to separate and each family taking its several course in quest of a place where they may rest, they find a spot such as choice, chance or necessity points out; here they sit down; this they call their home—a cheerless, houseless home. If they have a tent, they stretch it and in it they all nestle; otherwise the umbrage of a wide-spreading oak, or, mayhap, the canopy of heaven is their only covering. In this new-found home, while they are not exempt from the common frailties and ills of humanity, many peculiar to their present condition thicken around them. Here they must endure excessive labor, fatigue and exposure to inclement seasons; here innumerable perils and privations await them; here they are exposed to alarms from wild beasts and from Indians. Sometimes driven from home they take shelter in the breaks and recesses of the mountains, where they continue for a time in a state of anxious suspense; venturing at length to reconnoitre their home, they perhaps find it a heap of ruins, the whole of their little *peculium* destroyed. This frequently happened.

The inhabitants of the country being few and in most cases widely separated from each other, each group, fully occupied with its own difficulties and distresses, seldom could have the consolation of hoping for the advice, assistance or even sympathy of each other. Many of them, worn out by the hardships inseparable from their new condition, found premature graves; many hundreds, probably thousands, were massacred by the hands of the Indians, and peace and tranquillity, if it came at all, came at a late day to the few survivors.

"Tantæ erat molis—condere gentem."

Here have been stated a few items of the first cost of this country, but the half has not been told; nor can we calculate in money the worth of the sufferings of these people; especially we cannot estimate in dollars and cents the value of the lives that were lost. An historical account of the early settlements of the country is a desideratum. Much indeed that might go to form such a work has been irrecoverably lost; much might, by care and industry be collected, enough, if used by a skilful hand, to form a work which would merit the public patronage. The writer must here acknowledge that a number of facts were communicated to him by two individuals of Rockbridge county, of which he has availed himself. These individuals were Andrew Reid, Esq. and William Moore, Esq. They were both in the campaign of 1774, and both in the battle of Point Pleasant, and acted well their several parts. Mr. Reid was known to have certainly killed an Indian early in the engagement; Mr. Moore bore from the battle-ground a wounded soldier. Standing near to his fellow when the wound was given, at much personal risk, being in full view of the enemy's line, he received his wounded companion on his shoulders and bore him to the camp, there placing him under the care of attendants he returned to the fight, in which both he and Mr. Reid continued until victory declared in favor of the white men. This wounded soldier was John Steel, of Augusta, who was shot quite through the chest. From this wound, although at first deemed mortal, he recovered so rapidly as to be able to ride home at the end of the campaign. Early in the revolutionary war he entered the army as a subordinate officer, and continued

in this service until the struggle was over, at which time he was discharged with the rank of colonel. Soon after returning to his native state he was appointed by the legislature a member of the privy council, the duties of which office he performed during the constitutional term. He was again appointed by the same authority to an important agency in the south-west, the object of which is not now distinctly remembered. He removed about the end of the last century to the neighborhood of Natchez, where he undertook the cultivation of the cotton plant. When a territorial government was established in Mississippi he was, by the President of the United States, appointed governor. Nothing more of him is known by the writer, save that he died at an advanced age, about half a century after receiving the wound at the battle of Point Pleasant.

During the war between France and Great Britain, which commenced about the middle of the last century, the new settlements of Virginia suffered much from Indian depredations. At this time France had possession of Quebec and the Canadas; the river St. Lawrence and the lakes were under her control. For the defence and maintenance of these possessions many strong fortifications were erected at different points, among which were Ticonderoga, Fort Stanwix, Detroit and others. Fort DuQuesne was erected in 1756 at the confluence of the Monongahela and Alleghany rivers. It is evident that the design of the French monarch was to connect Quebec with New Orleans, by establishing a chain of posts along the great waters, and thus to limit the extension of the British provinces in North America. That large scope of country bounded by the north-western lakes, the river Mississippi and the Ohio was wholly claimed by the western Indians. Many separate and independent tribes were planted throughout its whole extent. These, for the most part, resided in villages and were often at war with each other, but all viewed the whites as a common enemy. Among them the Shawnees stood pre-eminent for power and prowess. Their villages were on the Scioto, and were near to the whites. These different causes rendered them more formidable.

At fort DuQuesne was constantly kept, by the French traders, a full supply of arms,

ammunition, blankets, wampum and such other articles of traffic as suited the Indian market. Thus the Indians were attached to the interests of France and enlisted in her cause. The frontier of Virginia, at that time, extended from the North Carolina line on the Holston, to a point somewhere near fort DuQuesne, a distance of probably three or four hundred miles. The whole of this great extent was exposed to the incursions of the Indians and was often entered by them in bands of ten or twenty, murdering, plundering, and capturing families, seldom remaining longer than from ten to twenty hours, retreating in so short a time that rarely an adequate force could be collected to oppose or pursue them, and if pursued, the Indian, by "wily stratagems, would often elude his pursuers. The settlement remained in this unpleasant state for a number of years with no protection, and always apprehensive of danger. By the fall of the unfortunate Braddock and the annihilation of his army in the year 1755, matters were rendered incomparably worse. The dogs of border war were completely unkennelled. A large portion of Pennsylvania and Maryland felt the shock of this catastrophe; but the settlements most exposed were in the district of country lying west of the Blue Ridge from the Potomac the whole length of the valley and thence to the Carolina line on the Holston. Many individuals and families fled from the valley over the Blue Ridge for safety. Fear seemed to seize the whole community, and the name of an Indian struck terror through the entire settlements. Those who did not leave their homes depended for safety upon rudely constructed forts, which were to be found in every neighborhood. But alas! the first alarm was often the sound of the rifle or war-whoop of the Indian ready to pounce upon his prey. [1759.] A band of the Shawnees made a descent upon Kerr's creek, in what is now Rockbridge county. They killed and took prisoners many persons, the number not now known. One of these being tomahawked, scalped and left for dead, recovered and lived thirty or forty years. In 1763 a party of the same tribe visited the same place, killed and took captive thirty or forty persons, and set out on the next day on their return to their towns. In both instances they returned by easy journeys, carrying with them their scalps,

prisoners, and spoils, unopposed and unpursued. These are specimens of the mode of Indian warfare, and they show the depressed spirit of the whites, when twenty-seven Indians could come a distance of three or four hundred miles, commit such depredations and go off unscathed! [1763.] A treaty of peace was ratified between France and Great Britain,* which gave some respite. Hostilities, in a great measure, ceased and prisoners were surrendered. Many of the settlers now supposed that there were grounds to hope for a permanent peace. In the year 1759 Quebec had been subdued to the British arms under General Wolfe, and by treaty all the French possessions in the northern part of North America were surrendered to the British, and it was hoped that the French influence would cease. But this hope was chimerical; deep-rooted enmity and strong antipathy existed. The whites, during the late war, had suffered much from Indian barbarity, pillaging and burning their dwellings, murdering the inhabitants, carrying many into captivity, and of these putting to death not a few by lingering and painful tortures. These cruelties were commonly perpetrated along the frontier. Few settlements or even neighborhoods escaped. Where had lately stood a comfortable cabin, occupied by an industrious, and peaceable, and contented family, might now be seen a pile of ashes slaked with blood. All ages, all conditions were alike exposed. The ruthless savage felt no more pity for the delicate female or helpless infant, than did his hatchet or scalping knife. The settlers viewed the savages as enemies to mankind, that ought to be blotted from the face of the earth, and many thought that he who killed one, of whatever tribe, was doing God's service. The Indians, too, were not behind in hate. Their ancient jealousies still existed. They viewed the whites as unrighteous intruders upon a soil which had been theirs by birthright and long possession. They recollect their unexampled success in the late border wars, and no doubt many of them wished their renewal. From such tempers and dispositions, from the indulgence of such passions, it were strange if there should not result consequences similar in their nature, and ere long this

* Col. Stewart says that this treaty was formed by Col. Bouquet in 1764 instead of 1763.

did happen. A party of armed men entered the cabin of Logan, a celebrated Mingo chief and in his absence slaughtered his family, consisting of women and children. This chief, upon his return, became indignant, implacable, and irreconcilable. Another massacre was perpetrated far up the Ohio, upon a settlement of peaceable Indians, inhabiting the borders of Grave creek. This outrage and the murder of Bald Eagle, a Delaware chief, are believed to have been the first violations of the treaty of 1763. Indians consider it an imperative duty to revenge the death of their friends. The hatchet was consequently raised and blood streamed along the frontier throughout its length and breadth. Thus these imprudent men, by murdering those Indians in time of peace, brought destruction on hundreds, and perhaps thousands of defenceless individuals. This state of things continued until the year 1774. In this year the government of Virginia determined to send an army into the Indian country. One division of this army was to be levied from the Redstone country, near Pittsburg, and from the north-eastern counties of the great Valley, to march under the immediate command of Lord Dunmore, governor of Virginia. Another division was to be raised west of the Blue Ridge, chiefly from the counties of Augusta and Botetourt, to be under command of General Andrew Lewis of the latter county, and were directed to march directly through the mountains to the mouth of the Great Kanawha, and there to await the arrival of the governor with the first division. About the first of September nearly all the troops destined for the southern division of the army had assembled in Greenbriar and pitched their tents at Camp Union,* where Lewisburg now stands. A few companies, however, which were to have been raised on the head-waters of Holston and New River, under the direction of Col. Christian, had not yet arrived. For these General Lewis waited several days, but apprehending that longer delay might be detrimental to the success of the campaign, on the 11th of the month he ordered his troops to strike their tents and commence their march. They amounted to a thousand armed men, and were soon joined by Major Field with seventy volunteers from Culpepper.

There were besides a number of unarmed attendants, such as pack-horse-drivers, bullock-drivers, &c. The subsistence of the troops was a per-diem allowance of flour and fresh beef. The flour and camp equipage were conveyed on pack-horses; the bullocks were driven in the rear of the army and slaughtered as occasion required. Since there was neither road nor pathway through the mountainous wilderness, Captain Arbuckle preceded with a band of men who acted as pioneers to examine and mark out the route for the army. This was so laid out as to strike high on the Kanawha, near to the point where it takes its name and thence down its right bank. At the mouth of the Elk a halt was made for the purpose of constructing canoes to transport the heavy baggage to Point Pleasant. By this scheme it was intended to get rid of the incumbrance of all those pack-horses, which would not be wanted after a junction with the northern division. The canoes being completed, the army moved forward and arrived at Point Pleasant on the last day of September. This point is a promontory formed by the Great Kanawha and Ohio rivers, where the former falls into the latter at right angles. As the northern division had not reached this place and no advices nor orders had been received from the Governor, the troops were directed to form an encampment. For this purpose the promontory afforded ground highly eligible, defended on the north by the Ohio and on the south-west by the Kanawha, whilst its eastern side lay open to an immense wilderness. This promontory was elevated considerably above the high-water mark, and afforded an extensive and variegated prospect of the surrounding country. Here were seen hills, mountains, valleys, cliffs, plains, and promontories, all covered with gigantic forests, the growth of centuries, standing in their native grandeur and integrity, unsubdued, unmutilated by the hand of man, wearing the livery of the season and raising aloft in mid air their venerable trunks and branches as if to defy the lightning of the sky and the fury of the whirlwind. This widely extended prospect, though rudely magnificent and picturesque, wanted, nevertheless, some of those softer features which might embellish and beautify, or if the expression were permitted, might *civilize* the savage wildness of

* Col. Stewart calls this station Fort Savannah.

some of Nature's noblest efforts. Here were to be seen no villages nor hamlets, not a farmhouse nor cottage, no fields nor meadows with their appropriate furniture, shocks of corn nor herds of domestic animals. In its widest range the eye would in vain seek to discover a cultivated spot of earth on which to repose. Here were no marks of industry, nor of the exercise of those arts which minister to the comfort and convenience of man; here Nature had for ages on ages held undisputed empire. In the deep and dismal solitude of these woodlands the lone wanderer would have been startled by the barking of the watch-dog, or the shrill clarion of a chanticleer. Here the whistling of the plough-boy or the milk-maid's song, sounds elsewhere heard with pleasing emotions, would have been incongruous and out of place.

From this same promontory were to be seen two mighty rivers, travelling in different directions, from far distant sources, rolling on with strong but noiseless current their immense volumes of water, here about to unite their forces and form one majestic stream and this too hastening away Southwestwardly in a serpentine course to mingle his waters with the floods of the Mississippi. This great collection of water which had from time immemorial flowed in one unbroken current, connecting the frozen mountains of the North with the Father of rivers, must have been a subject of wonder and admiration to the lately arrived troops. The Ohio river when found a century ago was named by the French "La Belle," the Beautiful. From its possessing an assemblage of beauties it seems to have a just claim to this appellation.

"Though deep yet clear, though gentle yet not dull,
Strong without rage, without o'erflowing full."

The beauties of this river were all from Nature; cities or towns had not arisen on its margin; no water-craft rested on its bosom; not a boat or bark was seen to diversify its surface or give it animation. So far as it respected man, it was a watery waste, uninteresting, unprofitable and unpromising. For as yet no one had dreamed that ere long this would become a high-way of commerce or that numerous swift ships would be at no distant day seen stemming its current, freighted with the fruits and fabrics and riches of other

climes, transporting them for exchange and thus meeting the wishes and wants of thousands of civilized inhabitants residing on its borders and spread abroad on the adjoining regions. The mind of man is often busied in searching after novelties and possibilities, and sometimes after impossibilities. Yet it is believed that at the time of which we are now speaking, no one had anticipated those astonishing changes which have since taken place in the Western country and which have been the result of human ingenuity, industry and enterprise.

The troops now lay encamped in the vicinity of the enemy,—an enemy subtle and insidious, and who, roused by danger, would exert all his energy and strength and employ every artifice to destroy or drive from his borders these hostile invaders. General Lewis himself possessed military talents and had much experience in Indian warfare. He could therefore pretty correctly estimate the circumstances in which he found himself placed and is said to have been much dissatisfied with the course which the affairs of the campaign had taken. Before entering on the command he had been assured that he would be met at Point Pleasant by the Northern troops, which united with his own would constitute an army able to overawe the enemy and penetrate his country. But this assurance had not been verified. No Northern troops had arrived; no advices had been received. He found himself now far advanced in the wilderness, with only a few raw, undisciplined militia to stand against all the force which numerous tribes of savages confederated in one common cause, might embody, to destroy their common enemy. He was solicitous not only for the troops under his immediate command, but also for the eventual success of the campaign. What opposition the army might meet with on entering the enemy's territory; what delays, disasters and difficulties he might be obliged to encounter in a country whose geography was but little known; how far it might be necessary for the army to proceed and what length of time would be necessary for completing its operations,—were problems which could be solved only by actual experiment. General Lewis saw that much of the season for active operation had already passed away. The days were becoming short and the weather cold,

and if the severity of the winter should stop the progress of the army before the Indians were subdued, nothing would be gained and the public expectation would be disappointed. When he first arrived at Point Pleasant, he sent runners to find the head-quarters of the Governor and bring advices. He also undertook the erection of a block-house, which was designed to be a depository for such baggage and stores as the army would not need while traversing the Indian country, but which might be left here under the protection of a guard until the army should return to this place. He also adopted other precautionary measures for the safety of the troops, among these was an order prohibiting the soldiers from leaving the camp without permission. This was designed to prevent the men from going out singly or in small groups, lest they should be cut off by the scouts of the enemy and also that all the troops might be ready to act promptly and efficiently in any emergency. But this order was not regarded. Many of the men continued to go out every day for the purpose of hunting as they had done before the order was issued. This was irksome and unpleasant to the commander, who was vested with ample authority, but without the power to enforce obedience. To resort to military punishment would have been vain. Most of the men and some of the officers indulged a spirit of insubordination, and coercion might have produced open mutiny. Whilst the troops lay here, some discontent took place on account of the distribution of provision. Certain companies complained of partiality, alleging that they had drawn beef of very inferior quality, whilst other companies fared much better. This drew forth an order from the commander, directing that all beef of an inferior quality should be first slaughtered and distributed to the troops alike. This order was issued on the 9th of October, and on the next morning before the break of day at least one hundred of the soldiers had left the camp to seek their rations in the woods. Before this all the game in the immediate vicinity of the camp had been killed or driven off. About break of day, on the morning of the 10th of October, a strong band of Indians was found advancing on the camp. A detachment from the army ordered to meet

them commenced a heavy fire soon after sunrise. By this time the hunters had proceeded so far as to be quite out of hearing, and knew nothing about the battle until they returned in the evening. A few hunters, perhaps half-a-dozen, who had taken their course up the river, met the Indians and were killed or driven back. Thus by this act of disobedience the army was deprived on this important occasion of about a hundred of its best marksmen, or nearly one-tenth of its whole number. Had these been present, the action would probably have been of shorter duration and less disastrous. The army under General Lewis had never been subjected to discipline. It had been gathered in a mountainous country and brought with it a spirit of freedom and independence, a spirit which mountaineers always possess, which sometimes prompts to great and noble deeds, but which is wholly incompatible with the life and duties of a soldier, unless when modified and corrected by much training and discipline. These men were healthy, active and energetic and accustomed to the toils and privations of new settlers. They were well prepared for the hardships of a military life and when tried in battle were found to possess that firm and persevering courage which insures victory. They were indeed the raw materials from which by proper training, might have been manufactured as gallant and efficient soldiers as ever manœuvred on the fields of Warsaw and Waterloo.

Let us return from this digression. At an early day the Indians had become acquainted with the movements in Virginia and even with the plan of the campaign. The Shawnees rightly judging that they would be the first object of attack, called in their out-posts, viz; their hunting and marauding parties, and strengthened themselves by renewing their alliance with many other tribes, thus securing their aid and co-operation. Even while General Lewis was on his march, the warriors were assembling. Their place of rendezvous was between Chillicothe and Point Pleasant, not far distant from the latter. Their intention at first had been to attack the army while crossing the river, but afterwards it was determined that it should be permitted to pass undisturbed and commence its march with the view of cutting it off more completely by ambuscade in the wilderness country.

This course was probably suggested by some aged warrior, who, nineteen years before, had witnessed the success of the stratagem by which the army of Braddock was allowed to cross the Monongahela and proceed without interruption until it fell into the embrace of destruction.

As the Indians while on a foray have no supplies of provisions, save what every man carries for his own use, it necessarily happens that where any considerable number are embodied, their excursion must be of short duration. They had already been assembled some length of time, but as General Lewis since his arrival had kept himself closely within his encampment, they had found no opportunity for attacking him to advantage, nor could it be foreseen when such opportunity might offer. Under these circumstances they became apprehensive of scarcity, which might cause a breaking up of their camp and a dispersion of their forces. A council of their chiefs was therefore called. Here it was proposed that they should cross the river some miles above Point Pleasant and march down in the night undiscovered, so that they might at break of day surprise the camp and carry it by general assault. Cornstalk, a noted Shawnee chief, opposed this course, alleging that war was not for the interest of the Indians and that overtures for peace should be made to the whites. But overruled by numbers, he acquiesced, reminding the council that they who had now declared for war, were responsible for the consequences and must fight with great bravery, while he would himself accompany them and witness their performance. Accordingly on the evening of the 9th of October, soon after dark, they began to cross the river on rafts previously prepared. To ferry so many men over this wide river and on these clumsy transports must have required considerable time. But before morning they were all on the eastern bank ready to proceed. Their route now lay down the margin of the river, through an extensive bottom. On this bottom was a heavy growth of timber, with a foliage so dense as in many places to intercept in a great measure the light of the moon and stars. Beneath lay many trunks of fallen trees, strewed in different directions and in various stages of decay. The whole surface of the ground was cover-

ed with a luxuriant growth of weeds, interspersed with entangling vines and creepers and in some places with close-set thickets of spicewood or other undergrowth. A journey through this in the night, must have been tedious, tiresome, dark and dreary. The Indians, however, entered on it promptly and persevered until break of day, when about a mile distant from the camp, one of those unforeseen incidents occurred, which so often totally defeat or greatly mar the best concerted military enterprises. Two soldiers from the camp, wishing to make a successful hunt, set out before day in order to be on the hunting ground as soon as it was light enough to discover the game. These were met and fired on; one of them fell; the other, whose name was Robertson,* afterwards known in Tennessee by the title of Colonel, not relishing this rough situation so early in the morning, retraced his steps with all convenient speed to the camp, where he related his adventures to the commander-in-chief. "While he was yet speaking" his account was confirmed by other hunters who had seen the Indians. Three hundred men were ordered out as a party of discovery and observation, under the command of Colonel Charles Lewis, brother of the commander-in-chief, and Col. William Fleming. These set forward at sun-rise, in obedience to their orders, and when less than half a mile distant from the camp encountered the whole force of the enemy. The line of white men extended in a direction across the bottom, where it was fully a mile wide, the left, commanded by Colonel Fleming, resting on the river bank; the right, under Lewis, extended far toward the rising ground or bluff of Crooked creek, a branch of the Kanawha. The attack was first made on the right, but the firing was soon heard along the whole extent of the line, and for a short time was very sharp and here several of the combatants fell on both sides. But believing themselves to be greatly overpowered by numbers, and both the leaders, Lewis and Fleming being wounded, the former mortally, the latter severely, the whole party fell back, but not in confusion. They continued pretty well embodied,

* Col. Stewart says that his name was Moony and that he stopped before his tent-door, to relate his adventure. Col. Lewis calls him Robertson, which is confirmed by Messrs. Reid & Moore. The one who was killed, was named Hickman, according to Col. Stewart.

much as they had been when the action commenced, and kept up a constant fire, which retarded the pursuit of the enemy and gave time for the arrival of a re-inforcement. This onset produced great alarm in the camp. The weight of the firing showed that the enemy were re-inforced and the progression of the sound, that they were nearing the camp. A re-inforcement of fifteen men was ordered from each company, amounting probably to less than two hundred and fifty. A tumultuous state of affairs prevented this order from being executed with precision. Some, anticipating the order, had hastened to relieve their brethren and were already in the field. Others promptly obeyed the call when it was received. A portion appeared to move slowly as if reluctant to quit the camp, while another portion, and not a few, as was thought, mingling with the promiscuous crowd concealed themselves, evaded the order and thus kept out of harm's way. As this re-inforcement advanced, not in a body, but in disorderly succession, it was long exposed and suffered much from the enemy, before it could be arranged in the line of battle. The retreating party now strengthened and encouraged, refused farther to give ground, whilst the Indians pressed on with great earnestness and being indignant at having their progress checked, by their impetuosity suffered much in their turn. Although they had been foiled in their attempt of surprising the camp at break of day, yet now elated by their partial success, they hoped that by driving back the whites and furiously pursuing them into the camp, they might, amidst the confusion and carnage which would follow, gain their primary object, but the whites remained firm and immovable and now was the heat of the battle. The combatants stood opposite, each threatening death and destruction upon the other. Neither would retreat; neither could advance. The noise of the firing was tremendous. No single gun could be distinguished, but it was one constant roar. The rifle and tomahawk now did their work with dreadful certainty. The confusion and perturbation of the camp had now arrived at their greatest height. The ground of the encampment was an area of triangular form, two sides of which were bounded by the rivers Ohio and Kanawha, and the third exposed to the battle-ground. On the area, there were

men to the number of six or eight hundred, of various descriptions, armed and unarmed, all pent up by the great waters in the rear, and the enemy in front, without an avenue by which to escape. None knew the strength of the enemy; all knew that the whites had been retreating and were now on the very verge of the camp and that by another push, if the Indians had the strength to make it, the camp might become the battle-ground. The confused noise and wild uproar of battle, added greatly to the terror of the scene. The shouting of the whites, while the re-inforcement was advancing, the continual roar of the fire-arms, the war-whoop and dismal yelling of the Indians, sounds harsh and grating when heard separately, became by mixture and combination highly discordant and terrific. Add to this the constant succession of the dead and wounded, brought off from the battle-field, many of these with shattered limbs and lacerated flesh, pale, ghastly, and disfigured, and besmeared with gore, their "garments rolled in blood," and uttering doleful cries of lamentation and distress; others faint, feeble and exhausted by loss of blood, scarcely able with quivering lips to tell their ail to passers-by. Sounds and sights and circumstances such as these were calculated to excite general solicitude for the issue of the battle, and alarm in each individual for his own personal safety. Early in the day General Lewis had ordered a breast-work to be constructed from the Ohio to the Kanawha, thus severing the camp from the neighbouring forest. This breast-work was formed by felling trees and so disposing of their trunks and branches, as to form a barrier which was difficult to pass. It was designed that should the enemy gain an ascendency in the field, this barrier might prevent their entrance into the camp, while at the same time it might serve as a protection to the garrison that was within. The sun had not ascended far in his midway path when the storm of battle began to subside and the firing to abate. Both parties had put forth their most strenuous efforts and both had sustained heavy loss; yet both seemed willing to continue the contest. Nevertheless, as if taught by experience, both seemed willing to shelter themselves carefully and avoid exposure, whilst at the same time they were careful to employ every opportunity for annoying their

enemy. Seldom now did any one expose himself to view and when such an occurrence took place, five or ten or perhaps more guns were discharged from the opposite line. After this there was silence until a like occurrence again took place. In this desultory way the battle was continued for a considerable time. Although the Indians had manifested a disposition to continue the contest, they had in fact already determined to quit the field and had taken precautionary measures to render their retreat more secure. A portion of their force was detailed to conceal the dead, that their scalps might not come into possession of the enemy and to remove the wounded to a place of safety. Whilst this detachment was performing these duties, the main body maintained the line of battle and kept the white men at bay. But as soon as it was known that the wounded were placed in security, the whole Indian line fell back several hundred yards and there in ambush awaited the approach of their pursuers. These followed with too little caution and suffered for their temerity. Several times the Indians practised the same manœuvre by retreating and concealing themselves, and in each of these stations exhibited the same kind of desultory warfare. The last of these positions proved advantageous for shelter and concealment and here the Indians remained for several hours, maugre all the efforts of the whites to dislodge them. At length Captain Shelby, since governor of Kentucky and noted for his skill and intrepidity in Indian warfare, was ordered by the commander-in-chief with a party of men to pass round south of the battle-ground and gain a station in the rear of the enemy, or at least one from which he might enfilade their line. This was nearly accomplished, when the design was discovered, and soon after the whole of the Indians fled the field. The day was now far spent; the men were exhausted by hunger, fatigue and anxiety. Nothing it was thought could be gained by further pursuit. The victory was complete and the troops returned to the camp.

The foregoing sketch of the retreat of the Indians was taken from conversations held with individuals, who had themselves been in the battle. These on several minor points did not entirely harmonize, but considering the circumstances in which they were placed

during the day and the great lapse of time since this occurrence, a coincidence of views could not be expected. This retreat in its plan and execution has generally been thought to have been made with skill and dexterity. European and Indian battles are so different in their character as hardly to admit of comparison. But had a skilful officer of high reputation in modern warfare conducted this retreat precisely as it was done by Cornstalk and his associates, the military character of such officer, it is believed, would not have suffered by the performance. At first the Indians expected, by surprising the camp, to gain possession of it and its scalps and its spoils. But failing in this and losing many of their warriors, their next purpose was to escape from the whites with as little further loss and delay as possible. Their great difficulty seems to have been to secure the wounded. Many of these had been disabled two or three miles from that point of the river, where the rafts had been moored and to which point it was necessary that they should all be transported in order to recross. With their means of transportation this must have required much time and labor. But after the retreat commenced the Indian chief managed with so much adroitness, that the pursuers had not gained probably more than one mile and a half, certainly not two miles in six or seven hours. Thus it happened that the whole band had time to recross the river in the evening, or first part of the night. Not a prisoner was made nor one of the wounded fell into the hands of his enemies. To conduct a retreat successfully requires generally greater and more various talents than to gain a victory. The retreat of the ten thousand Greeks through many hostile nations, brought into exercise greater and more diversified talents than the celebrated victory over Darius king of Persia. The former conducted by Xenophon, gained for him a more enviable reputation than had ever been conceded to the hair-brained son of Philip of Macedon. The former saved from inevitable destruction a numerous band of his countrymen and restored them to their native land. The latter caused the destruction of a great Prince and myriads of his numerous army, whose only crime was to defend themselves against a total overthrow.

The retreat of Washington in 1777 with but the skeleton of an army—a mere forlorn hope, elicited more and greater military virtues, than any period of his eventful life, not excepting even that proud occasion when at Yorktown, Virginia, the British standard fell before him. In the year 1755, when but a youth, this same Washington gave an earnest of his future greatness when he collected and conducted the shattered remains of Braddock's army. On this occasion he discovered such strength of mind, such maturity of judgment and such decision of character, as are rarely united with age and experience. Another example to the same point might be given in the person of General Greene. The retreat of the Southern army in the winter of 1781, through a wasted country, abounding with enemies for hundreds of miles, without any loss of men, artillery or baggage, although pursued by a superior force under a skilful General, must have required no ordinary military skill. On entering Virginia and receiving re-inforcements, he faced and fought the gallant Cornwallis, who in his turn was forced to retreat, leaving his dead and wounded to the mercy of his enemy. And now without loss of time General Greene traversed the country, where he had been a fugitive, rapidly reducing the enemy's out-posts, so that in a few months he was compelled to concentrate all his forces at two points. The points being both accessible to shipping were convenient stations from which to run away. Thus we see that General Greene had the courage to retreat when he could not meet the enemy on equal terms; that this retreat was conducted without loss; and that eventually he was able to establish peace and order in the Southern Country.

On the morning of the 11th, the day after the battle of Point Pleasant, about twenty* dead bodies required the rites of sepulture. Preparations were accordingly made to perform the duty with as much decent respect as circumstances would permit. Large pits were opened; coffins and shrouds were out of the question; every man's blanket served for his winding-sheet. The bodies were laid side by side on the cold earth, and the same material was used to cover and conceal them from view. A few, however, in accordance with the wishes of their friends were interred

in separate graves. Here was no pomp or pageantry, no muffled drums; no minute guns, no volleys of platoons were fired over their grave. Badges of mourning, ensigns of sorrow were not in demand. The reality itself was here. Sorrow was depicted upon every countenance. Those very men, who but yesterday, with stern brow and dauntless breast in the fore front of the hottest battle, defied the most ruthless of the savage foe, were now seen suffused with tears and melted with grief. This was not from mental imbecility or feminine weakness. To lament the fate of the brave who fall in the cause of their country, and to perpetuate their memory is the dictate of humanity; it is characteristic of noble and generous minds, the uniform practice of every age and the duty of every people. I would not envy the hardihood of him who could, without sensible emotion, witness such a scene. He must doubtless be destitute of one of the noblest attributes of our nature. This solemn service is now ended: dust has returned to dust and other duties await the survivors. They must bid a long adieu to the dead, whose remains rest here, far from their home and beloved friends. Here in the bosom of a vast wilderness, the haunt of wild beasts, where rude savages roam and where a civilized foot has seldom trod,—here, free from all sublunary tumult, may they repose in peaceful silence, till that great eventful day when land and sea shall give up their dead! During the border wars the slain of the vanquished were seldom buried. To bury them would have been often difficult, sometimes dangerous; besides, the inveterate enmity which then existed between the white men and the Indians, precluded all acts of humanity or courtesy. The vengeful savage sometimes pursued his adversary even beyond the confines of life, mutilating and disfiguring the breathless carcass. Nor was the white man always free from such atrocities. But on the present occasion there would have been neither difficulty nor danger. To have buried the dead would have comported with the superior civilization and intelligence of the white man and his pretensions to religion and it might have softened the ferocity of Indians, to know that the remains of their warriors which might fall into the hands of their enemies would be treated with respect. That this was not done

* Other accounts make the number forty.

we think is attributable rather to the character of the times, than to any peculiar perversity in the temper or character of the actors. Be this as it may, certain it is, that more than twenty bodies of the Indians, who fell in battle, were permitted to putrefy and decay on the ground where they expired, or to be devoured by birds or beasts of prey. The mountain eagle, lord of the feathered race, whilst from his lofty cairn, with piercing eye, he surveyed the varied realms around and far beneath, would not fail to descry the sumptuous feast prepared for his use. Here he might whet his beak and feast and fatten and exult. Over these the gaunt wolf, grim tyrant of the forest, might prolong his midnight revelry and howl their funeral elegy. Whilst far remote, in the deepest gloom of the wilderness, whither they had fled for safety, the surviving warriors might wail their fate, or chant a requiem to their departed spirits. Meanwhile the deceased themselves equally regardless of the wailings of friends and the neglect and indignity offered to their own perishable remains, rest in quietness and sleep as soundly as if entombed with honor and pomp amid all the paraphernalia of a military funeral.

This was undoubtedly one of the most obstinately contested battles ever fought on the Western frontier. It commenced with the rising sun and ended about four o'clock in the afternoon. The proportion of killed and wounded was very great. On the largest calculation there could not have been more than five hundred and fifty whites in the field. Of these one hundred and forty-four were killed and wounded, being more than one-fourth of the whole number, and making an average of more than one for every four minutes during the time the battle lasted. It would not be easy to produce another instance in which undisciplined men held out for such a length of time, whilst sustaining so great a loss of numbers; and, indeed, such an example can seldom be found among disciplined troops. In the battle of Waterloo, the English had thirty-six thousand men in the field; the contest was obstinate and for a long time doubtful; they fought with troops equally brave and well disciplined as themselves. Victory finally declared in favor of the English. The British official returns give nine thousand, nine hundred and nine-

ty-nine men killed and wounded, being more than a fourth, but not a third of the whole number. In the battle of Bunker Hill, two thousand, five hundred undisciplined militia, with no other arms than they had been accustomed to use about home and without artillery, had voluntarily assembled on an eminence, near Boston, in the night, and before morning had thrown up a slight entrenchment and when discovered, the British commander ordered three thousand veteran troops to dislodge them; these were completely armed, led on by skilful Generals and supported by a battery and shipping; twice they assailed the militia and were as often repulsed; at the third attack, the ammunition of the provincials having failed and being destitute of bayonets, they were compelled to retreat, leaving between four and five hundred killed and wounded. The British official returns made their loss one thousand and fifty-six—being more than a third of the whole number engaged in the battle. An example of so great a proportionate loss can scarcely be found in the annals of war, unless indeed where great disparity of numbers or some untoward circumstances caused a rout instead of a battle. The battle of Bunker Hill is in every respect unexampled, and if we may be allowed to use the phrase, a perfect non-descript.

The number of Indians engaged in the battle of Point Pleasant is altogether uncertain. Some of the hunters who saw them early in the morning, reported them as very numerous, covering several acres of ground. The first party under General Charles Lewis retreated, alleging that they were greatly overpowered by the number of the enemy. The line of the Indians during the battle was co-extensive with that of the whites, stretching from the river quite across the bottom, about a mile to Crooked creek. It is said to be a maxim of Indian policy, never willingly to fight an equal force without some manifest advantage and this maxim seems to be founded on common sense; for little can be gained in a contest where blows are equal on both sides. In this battle the Indians maintained the fight with great obstinacy, which they would not have done according to this maxim, had they not considered themselves superior in numbers. Whilst General Lewis with his army was marching

from Greenbrier and lying at Point Pleasant, the Shawnees had full time to form confederacies and engage assistance from the neighboring tribes, who, it was known, made a common cause on all occasions against the whites. It has already been said that twenty white men expired on the battle-ground. Nineteen Indians were found dead in the field and three were discovered on the day following, who had been imperfectly concealed. How many killed and wounded were borne off, there are no means of ascertaining. "They were discovered throwing their dead into the Ohio all the day *" All the circumstances show that the Indians were numerous, and the probability is that they greatly exceeded the number of whites engaged in the battle. In Europe, where despots send forth their tens and hundreds of thousands of hirelings to slaughter each other, the loss of Point Pleasant would be thought inconsiderable, scarcely worthy of notice. But let it be considered that these men were taken from a large district of country, as yet but thinly inhabited, where each individual might be acquainted with every other for six or eight miles around. A common interest, common dangers and a common sympathy cemented them together. A portion of these were men in the prime of life, possessing intelligence, influence and respectability. Another portion of them were younger, most of whom gave good promise of future worth. These were not hirelings; no mercenary motives had led them to battle. They went at their country's call for the protection of the defenceless frontier. They met the enemy and theirs was the fate of war. But they fell not ingloriously like the slain on Mount Gilboa; their weapons of war perished not, nor was their shield vilely cast away; they fell fighting bravely and their death contributed to the victory that followed.

General Lewis soon after the battle received orders † from the governor to march the troops to a certain point in the Indian

* So says Col. Andrew Lewis of Montgomery, yet living. [1836.]

† Col. Stewart says: "On the day before the battle some scouts came down the river from his lordship's camp express to General Lewis with orders to cross the river and march his troops to the Shawnee towns, where he would meet us with his army." But Col. A. Lewis of Montgomery says, that General Lewis crossed the river without any orders. After giving an account of the battle and things previous, his words are:—"All this time nothing was heard from Dunmore;" and again, "He received no orders from the governor after he left the encampment in Greenbrier;" and again, "Gen. Lewis was never ordered to cross the river."

country. This he did, crossing the Ohio three miles above Point Pleasant. During their march Indians were often seen hovering around, hanging on their skirts or rear, and sometimes in front. Apprehensions were entertained of a battle, but no hostilities took place. On the last day of their march, when ten or fifteen miles from the governor's camp, a flag met General Lewis, bearing an order from Dunmore to halt where he then was. To this General Lewis seemed to pay no attention, but continued his march. The flag returned and in a few hours appeared again with another order to the same effect; this order was treated as the first and the march continued until the army arrived at a convenient place for encampment, within three miles of the governor's head-quarters, who had marched his troops directly to this place from the Redstone country. Very soon after halting, it was discovered that there were in this neighborhood great numbers of wild turkeys and in a very little time a strong detachment of troops armed and equipped for the purpose, fearlessly sallied forth to make an attack on them. Marching on with hasty step in loose phalanx with trailed arms, the object of their search was soon descried in close order, standing aghast, with heads erect, admiring this novel phenomenon,—a regiment of white faces, what they had never before seen, in dread array approaching,—surprised indeed, but not terrified, for thought they, "what punishment shall we fear doing no wrong?" Suddenly and unexpectedly, when within half rifle-shot, there commenced a heavy firing, which soon became extensive. From this they soon learned that innocence is not always a protection against injury. They now became disconcerted and fell back. The firing continued with great rapidity and the turkeys being hard pressed and closely pursued through copse and glen, over hill and dale, and being much fatigued and despairing of restoring the fortunes of the day, suddenly betook themselves to flight, leaving the conquerors in full possession of the field. They glorying in their victory, now returned to the camp, conveying with them at least five hundred scalps of the enemy.* These were not rudely and barbarously torn from the heads of the slain, but the bodies, necks and heads

* This engagement was styled "The Battle of the Turkey Gobblers."

were borne to camp, with the scalps sticking as close as night-caps and all exhibited to public view, so that there could be no deception. And now glee and merriment prevailed, every man vaunting and boasting of his own exploits and adventures. But the exultation was not complete till the returns from the proper officers were made and it was found that although the affray was long and bloody and had lasted for more than twice forty minutes, yet not one man was lost, either killed, wounded, or missing. The firing had been so heavy that it was heard in the governor's camp three miles distant and it was there believed, that the Indians and white men under Lewis had gotten to hard knocks again. The Redstone boys seizing their arms hastily ran across the plain, anxious to know the certainty and if necessary to act a part. Before their arrival the engagement was over and the troops had returned, but what was the surprise of the allied troops, when they were told that all this fuss was nothing more than an attack upon one of the most harmless and helpless of the feathered race? And their surprise was not diminished, when they were convinced by signs that could not be mistaken, that the conquerors, cannibal-like, were about to devour the bodies of the slain. The Redstone troops were a fine set of fellows and gave no symptom of backwardness to take a brush with any equal number of the tawny sons of the West. Their uniform dress gave them a martial air, which rendered them superior in appearance to the troops under General Lewis. The Lewisites were willing to admit all this and that the Redstone boys had in some respects the superiority over them, yet notwithstanding the motley mixture in color and materials with which they were clothed, they piqued themselves not a little in having been fairly tried in battle a few days before and found able to stand fire and drive their enemy out of the field.

On the same day the governor visited the camp, held converse with General Lewis and his officers, and no doubt communicated to them the provisions of the treaty which he had already formed with the Indian chiefs.* From the account given by Col. A. Lewis of

Montgomery, it will be seen how much the troops under General Lewis were incensed against Dunmore. He says, "General Lewis had to double and triple the guard over his marquee, to prevent the men from killing the governor and the Indians," who came with him to the camp. *

The governor now ordered General Lewis forthwith to lead his troops back to Point Pleasant; to leave a garrison in the fort with necessary stores for them and the wounded; then to conduct the residue of the army back to the settlements and discharge them. All which was accordingly done and the campaign ended.

The results of this campaign were various. The fall of so many brave men was lamented. This clothed many families and neighborhoods in mourning. But the Indians were defeated and many of their warriors were killed or crippled.

Thus weakened and dispirited they desired peace. Peace was desirable to the white settlements also. They had experienced but little tranquillity since the first settlement of the country. But peace was more peculiarly desirable in a national point of view. The provinces were on the eve of a war with Great Britain, and hostilities actually commenced in the Spring of 1775. This produced universal anarchy; all government was dissolved. In Virginia the governor prorogued the Assembly and having by a series of unwarrantable acts, forfeited public confidence, conscious of crime, he meditated safety by flight from the resentment of an injured people. Having found refuge in an armed vessel, he commenced a petty-larceny war on the plantations, hamlets and water-craft along the shore of the Chesapeake. At length wearied of doing nothing, he left his retinue of renegade whites and runaway negroes to shift for themselves and having by a perfidious course of conduct, inscribed, "here lieth," on his deceased honor, he quitted the province. "Sic transit gloria mundi!"

But this state of anarchy, in Virginia, was short-lived. The people spontaneously elected members for a new assembly. These having met, a governor and other civil officers were appointed; a constitution for the State was formed on republican principles; a system of finance established; sundry ne-

* Col. A. Lewis of Montgomery says: "Nor was there any treaty made until the spring; after the battle General Lewis held a treaty with them, in which they were bound to keep hostages of their chiefs at the Fort Point Pleasant."

* See A. Lewis' letter in Appendix.

cessary laws enacted and military officers appointed to enlist soldiers for the national defence. All this was done in a short time without tumult or turmoil. People then were honest, and officers faithful. There was no intriguing for office, or scrambling for the loaves and fishes. Had an Indian war broken out simultaneously with the war for independence; during this state of chaos and confusion, had that immense swarm of tawny savages, which assailed General Lewis in 1774, been let loose on the long unprotected line of frontier, the consequences must have been awfully destructive and terrible. In no part of Western Virginia was the population at that time numerous. Some portions of the country, from the fewness of its inhabitants, must have been deserted or destroyed. Where there was a greater population, resistance would have been made. People would have contended desperately for their houses and their homes, and probably the enemy would have been repulsed. But to have effected this and to have guarded against future incursions, would have required the whole military strength of the upper country. There would have been no surplus for national purposes. Throughout the revolution, Virginia occupied a middle position among the States, giving assistance to the North or the South as occasion required. But now lopped of her Western limb, by this Indian war, she could have done but little more than guard her own Eastern border, and not only proved an inefficient ally, but dividing the members of the confederacy from each other by the whole breadth of her territory, must have obstructed their union and co-operation in matters of mutual interest. Such a state of things might have greatly embarrassed and perplexed the Carolinas and Georgia, and might have imposed upon them the necessity of resuming their former allegiance and asking protection from that power from which they had revolted. It is not however probable that this state of things would have proved fatal to the American cause. The spirit of the people had been roused and could have been quieted by nothing less than the independence of the country. It may be thought that as the inhabitants of the upper country were not numerous, so her military strength would be proportionally weak, and that, therefore, the abstraction of this from

the national cause, could not be sensibly felt. But though the population was not numerous, yet it was a white population. The black population, in the upper country, was at that time scarcely worthy of notice, while East of the Blue Ridge, negroes may have amounted to one-third or one-fourth of the whole population. Hence it happened that the military strength of Western Virginia, was much greater than that of Eastern Virginia, in proportion to their respective population. Western Virginia was now new. Few settlements had been made for more than thirty or forty years. Her population had been made by emigrants from abroad. Such emigrations are generally composed of men in the prime of life, and thus the military strength of this country was proportionally greater than in the settlements of Old Virginia, where the population was from natural increase. From these two causes the military strength of the upper country was much greater than might have been at first supposed. These were all armed with rifles, were proud of their arms and expert in their use. A rifleman in those days would have thought himself degraded by being compelled to carry a musket. In going into battle he had great confidence in himself and in his fellows. Not regardless of personal safety, he always, where it could be conveniently found, possessed himself of a tree or some other shelter, from behind which, with much composure, he annoyed his enemy. Economical in his expenditure of ammunition, he used his rifle with great precision, always solicitous that one ball should bring down two of his foes. Whenever this class of soldiers was found in the North or in the South, they soon fought themselves into notice. At Stillwater and Saratoga, at King's Mountain, the Cowpens, Guilford and elsewhere, they were conspicuous. Could the ghosts of the daring Ferguson and the cruel and sanguinary Tarleton be permitted to return and tell their story, the former would doubtless lament the fatal day when he, with hundreds of his deluded followers, fell before the sharp-shooting mountaineers, whilst the latter might rejoice and exult in having been able with nearly half his Myrmidons, by a precipitate flight, to escape from the horrid grasp of the iron-handed, uncouth Morgan, who very unmercifully made prisoners of the other half.

But the Indian war that we have been contemplating, was not realized. A number of Indian tribes did combine for this purpose, and their warriors were assembled in great force. But the campaign being carried into the enemy's country, they were defeated in battle and disappointed in their expectations. This campaign has not been appreciated in proportion to its importance. It has been viewed as an insulated matter, designed solely for the protection of the frontier settlements. But its projectors had ulterior objects in view. The preparations made and great array of troops provided for this occasion, were intended to subdue the Indian tribes and deter them from interfering in the approaching contest with Great Britain and this was completely effected. For several years peace and quietness prevailed on the western frontier. During this period the first shock of the revolution had passed away; order and government were re-established; armies were raised and battles fought, in many of which the success of American arms gave proof that the British lion was not invincible. During this period Virginia had full opportunity to employ the whole of her resources in the war of Independence. Two causes may be assigned why the advantages of this campaign were not duly appreciated. First it was followed by events of great magnitude in quick succession. Each more recent event by attracting public attention to itself in a great degree obscured and cast into the shade events which had preceded. The second cause may be found in the scene of action. The affairs of the campaign were transacted in the Indian country, far from the white settlements, and the battle was fought in the depths of the wilderness, where there were none to witness it save those engaged. Post-offices and post-riders were then unknown. There was but one newspaper then in Virginia. This was a smallsheet published weekly by Purdie and Dixon, at Williamsburg, then the capital of the State, and near her eastern border. It was chiefly occupied at this time by the disputes between the colonies and the parent country, and had but a very limited circulation, from all which we may conclude, that the people of the commonwealth generally had very imperfect information respecting the Indian war. The inhabitants of that district, whence the Southern division of

the army had been taken, being solicitous concerning their friends and acquaintances who were in the service, many of whom suffered in battle, did by writing and otherwise maintain a correspondence with persons in the army, by which means they became better acquainted with the origin, progress and consequences of this campaign, than any other portion of the country. But as new scenes during the revolution were continually rising to view, the Indian affairs were soon overlooked and forgotten. To form a just estimate of the importance of this campaign, it would be necessary to consider the character of the Indians, their propensity to war, the great combined strength that they possessed in the year 1774, the indications which they had manifested of hostile intentions, the efforts used by British traders to urge them on to war, the defenceless state of the frontier, the distracted condition of the provinces in apprehension of war with great Britain; all these things being duly considered must unquestionably lead to the conclusion, that the battle of Point Pleasant, taken in connection with the treaty which immediately followed, constituted the first act in the great drama of the revolution; that it had an important bearing on all subsequent acts of that tragedy; that it materially and immediately influenced the destinies of our country and more remotely the destinies of many other countries, perhaps of the whole world. For about this time there had gone forth a spirit of enquiry whose object was to ascertain the rights of man, the source of legitimate government, to diffuse political information and to put down all tyranny, oppression and misrule. This spirit also emanated to other countries, and although encumbered with extravagance and folly, which have doubtless marred its progress in some degree, it has nevertheless done much to correct abuses in government and ameliorate the condition of man. This spirit it is believed is still operating throughout the world and it is hoped will continue its operations until all rulers shall be actuated by justice and benevolence and all subjects by a dutiful subordination, thus harmoniously co-operating in effecting a political reformation throughout the world.

It is much to be regretted that a complete history of this campaign has never been given

to the public. Several writers have noticed it incidentally or given a meagre outline, but no one, it is believed, has entered into those circumstantial details which alone give interest to such a work. And now, after so great a lapse of years, it would be impossible to collect materials for this purpose. Nevertheless, after some examination of the subject, the writer of these notes is induced to believe that by industry much information might yet be gleaned from various sources, enough it is thought to form a volume more satisfactory than anything heretofore published. Will not some capable hand undertake the task?* Seldom has the pen of the historian been employed on an enterprise productive of so many important and beneficial results, acomplished in so short a time by so small a military force. A thousand and seventy soldiers, under General Andrew Lewis, [12th of September, 1774,] left their rendezvous at Camp Union in Greenbriar, and having marched more than a hundred and fifty miles through a pathless forest and mountainous wilderness, on the 10th of October, encountered and defeated at Point Pleasant the most formidable Indian confederacy ever leagued against western Virginia. The dead being buried and provision made for the comfort of the wounded, General Lewis crossed the Ohio river and penetrated the country nearly to the enemy's towns. The defeat was so complete, that without hazarding another battle, the Indians sued for peace. A treaty of peace having been ratified, the General led his troops back to Point Pleasant. At that place he left a garrison and then, with the remainder of the troops, returned to Camp Union, having in about two months marched through an enemy's country, in going and returning, a distance of more than four hundred miles, defeated the enemy and accomplished all the objects of the campaign. The whole success of the campaign is here attributed to the troops under General Lewis. Others were indeed employed. The northern division, fifteen or eighteen hundred strong, under the immediate command of Lord Dunmore, were expected to unite and co-operate with the southern. This had been stipulated when the campaign was first projected. But by

the crooked policy of the perfidious governor the troops under his immediate command were kept aloof, so that no union or co-operation could take place. The soldiers of the northern division, there is no doubt, would have been willing to share with the southern division any danger or difficulty, had they been permitted. It is also to be regretted that nothing has been done to perpetuate the memory of the victory at Point Pleasant; nothing to honor the names of those who bled in its achievement. Here Virginia lost some of her noblest sons. They had united in the same cause, fell on the same field and were interred in the same grave. But no sepulchral monument marks the place; no stone tells where they lie; not even a mound of earth has arisen to distinguish this sacred spot from others around. Here they have lain in silence and neglect for seventy years, in a land which their valor had won, unsung by the poet, unelogised by the historian, unhonored by their country. Tell it not in Gath, publish it not in the streets of Ascalon. Let not the culpable neglect be known abroad. Will not some patriot, zealous for the honor of Virginia, bring this subject at an early day before her legislature? Let him give a faithful narrative of facts respecting these defenders of their country. The simple story will be impressive; then eloquence will not be wanting. Every member of that honorable body will be ready to exclaim, "give honor to whom honor is due." Let a monument be erected of durable materials, under the eye of a skilful architect; let it be characterized by republican simplicity and economy; let it bear appropriate inscriptions of the time, occasion and names of the prominent actors, especially of those who bled in battle; let it be placed on that beautiful promontory, whose base is marked by the Ohio and Kanawha and whose bosom contains the remains of those whom this monument is intended to honor. Here it will stand conspicuous, seen from afar by all who navigate these great waters, reviving in some, half-forgotten recollections, in others exciting curious enquiries respecting the early discoveries, early adventurers, early settlements and early wars of this western country. This structure, designed to honor the memory of the dead, will reflect honor also on its authors, on the State, and on every citizen. On its face will be read in

[* This desideratum will probably be supplied by Lyman C. Draper, Esq. in his forthcoming "Lives of the Pioneers."]

ages to come inscribed the names of the Lewises, Andrew and Charles, of Fleming and Field, of Buford, Morrow, Wood, Wilson, McClanahan, Allen, Dillon, Moffett, Walker, Cundiff, Murray, Ward, Goldsby and others.

Lord Dunmore has been strongly suspected of traitorous designs during this campaign. Disputes had for several years existed between Great Britain and the colonies of North America. And now war was confidently expected. Even during this campaign the port of Boston was blockaded by a British squadron. Massachusetts and Virginia were most forward in their opposition. The governor had his appointment from the king of Great Britain, and held his office at pleasure, and it was presumable that should war take place, he would favor the interest of his sovereign. Several things occurred during the campaign which gave strength to the suspicions that were entertained. The plan at first communicated to Col. Lewis was that he should conduct his troops to Point Pleasant and there await his Excellency's arrival with the northern division. Instead of this the southern division was left in a state of uncertainty on the very borders of the enemy's country for several weeks, having heard nothing from his lordship all this time, exposed to the combinations and machinations of other neighboring tribes. Had the northern division united with the southern, as his lordship had at first promised, there would have been no battle. The Indians would have been compelled to sue for peace. And now after the battle, General Lewis received orders to march into the interior of the Indian country, during which march he was often surrounded by great numbers of Indians and was twice in one day ordered to halt ten or fifteen miles from the governor's camp. General Lewis had too much firmness and good sense to obey the order. He knew that if attacked at that distance from the Redstone troops he could receive no support from them. He chose rather to disobey his superior in command than risk the fate of his army. It is worthy of remark too that the messenger was the notorious Simon Girty, whose character was not then fully developed, but who soon afterwards was well known as a leader in the interest of the Indians, and had he not then been known to them as a friend, it is not

probable that he would have ventured alone through their country twice in one day so many miles. This same Girty had been one of the governor's guides from Ohio river to Pickaway plains, where he now encamped. If the governor entertained traitorous designs he had great opportunity during this time to represent the certainty of war, the weakness of the provinces, the power of Great Britain, the probability that the Indians would be employed as auxiliaries and the rewards that would await those that favored the royal government. Let the governor's designs be what they might during the campaign, certain it is that not many months elapsed before he discovered to the world that his own personal and pecuniary interest weighed more with him than the good of the province over which he had been placed. Soon after this war commenced with great Britain. [1777.] General Burgoyne, by the way of lake Champlain, invaded the northern provinces. While approaching the frontier of New York he issued a proclamation inviting all Indians to join his standard. Many in the north did so, and it was expected that those north-west of Virginia would follow their example. To prevent this, congress ordered a military force to proceed to Point Pleasant. This force was raised chiefly in the counties of Augusta, Botetourt and Greenbriar, and was commanded by Colonel Dickinson. He was ordered to remain encamped there until the arrival of General Hand, a continental officer who was to direct their future movements. This army was designed as a feint to prevent the Indian tribes from attaching themselves to General Burgoyne. Whilst Dickinson's troops lay here, two chiefs, Cornstalk and Red-Hawk, with another Indian of the same nation, arrived at the fort. Their designs appeared to be pacific. Captain Arbuckle, the commander of the fort, thought it prudent to detain them as hostages for the good behavior of their nation, assuring them that no further violence should be offered them, provided the treaty of 1774 should still continue to be observed by their nation. A few days after, Elenipsico, a son of Cornstalk, arrived. He was also detained as a hostage. On the day following, two of Dickinson's troops, named Hamilton and Gilmore, from what is now Rockbridge county, crossed the Kanawha for the purpose of hunting. After having left

the river a few hundred yards they parted to meet at the same place in the evening. Gilmore returned first and whilst waiting for his companion was shot and scalped by an Indian. When Hamilton returned, finding the body of Gilmore thus mangled, he called across the river and the body was taken over. This Gilmore was one of nineteen children of the same father and mother, and was brought up on the plantation now owned by Mr. John Wallace, on the stage road not far from the Natural Bridge. Nearly all of the nineteen lived to mature years, and most of them raised families. As Gilmore was highly esteemed among his comrades, this occurrence produced great excitement in the camp. The troops from his immediate neighborhood brought over his body, "and their indignation was excited to the highest pitch."* One said, "let us kill the Indians in the fort." This was re-iterated with loud acclamations. The more prudent, who attempted to advise against this measure, were not listened to. They were even threatened. In a few minutes the mob moved on to the fort with loaded guns. While approaching, the Indians were told what their object was. Some of them appeared alarmed and very much agitated, particularly Elenipsico. His father desired him to be calm, told him that "the Great Spirit knew when they ought to die, better than they did themselves, and as they had come there with good intentions the Great Spirit would do good to them." Cornstalk arose, stood in the cabin door and faced the assassins as they approached. In a few moments the hostages were all numbered with the dead.

Had the perpetrators of this crime been tried under the State law for murder, or by martial law for mutiny, or under the law of nations for breach of treaty in the murder of hostages, or for the violation of the rules and rights of a public fort, in each or either case, had the facts been fully proven, they must have been judged worthy of death. It was an act pregnant with serious consequences. War on the frontier, which had now been suspended three years, would inevitably again take place. Accordingly in the month of June, 1778, two or three hundred Shawnees attacked the fort at Point Pleasant and continued to fire upon it for several days, but without effect. A par-

ley was then agreed upon between the Indians and the commander of the fort. Captain McKee, with three or four others, met as many Indians midway between the fort and the Indian encampment. The Indians avowed their intention to be revenged for the death of Cornstalk and those who fell with him. Captain McKee disavowed for himself and his garrison all participation in this murder and assured them that all good and wise men disapproved of it, that it was done in a moment of excitement by some imprudent young men and most of the officers and troops at the post disapproved of their conduct. He represented further that the governor of Virginia had issued a proclamation naming certain persons who were guilty of this outrage, and offering a reward for bringing them to justice. Part of the Indians appeared satisfied with the representation of Captain McKee and returned to their towns; another part were not satisfied, but remained still bent on revenge. These moved off slowly up the Kanawha. After they had all disappeared, two soldiers from the garrison were sent to keep in their wake and watch their movements. But these were discovered by the Indians and fired on. They then returned to the fort and were not willing to resume this perilous undertaking. Much perplexity existed now among the officers. The garrison had been placed here for the defence of the frontier, and a strong party of Indians had now passed them and were evidently advancing against the settlements, and would attack them without a moment's warning, unless a messenger could be sent from the fort. Enquiry being made who were willing to go, two soldiers volunteered their services,—Philip Hammon and John Pryor. The Indians were now far in advance, no time was to be lost and little was wanted for preparation. The rifle, tomahawk, shot-pouch, with its contents and appendages, and blanket were always in readiness. A few pounds of portable provisions were soon at hand and now they were ready for their journey. There happened at this time to be within the fort a female Indian, called the grenadier squaw, sister to the celebrated Cornstalk, and like him known to be particularly averse to war. On learning the destination of these two spies, she offered her services to disguise them, so that if they

* Colonel Stewart.

should meet with the Indians they should not be recognized as whites. She accordingly gave them the Indian costume from head to heel, and painted their faces with dark and lurid streaks and figures, such as indicate an Indian warrior going forth bent on deeds of death and destruction. Thus equipped, attired and ornamented, they set out on their long, fatiguing and perilous journey, during which they must endure the burning sun and drenching rains of the season. Brooks and rivers were to be waded; extensive and gloomy forests were to be traversed; precipitous hills and craggy mountain-places, where no man dwelt, were to be passed over with hasty step. The wolf, the bear, the panther and rattlesnake had, from time immemorial, held sway over this inhospitable region. Nor was this all; a numerous body of hostile Indians, thirsting for white men's blood, were known to be at this conjuncture, on the very path that the spies were to travel. Less than half of the difficulties and dangers here enumerated would have appalled most men, but to these chivalrous sons of the mountains, "The dangers self were lure alone." They were well aware that the success of the enterprise depended upon the celerity of its execution, that if they by forced marches should be able to overtake and pass the enemy undiscovered, and by entering the settlement first should apprise the inhabitants of the impending danger, thereby giving them opportunity to fortify and defend themselves, all might be well; but if this strong body of the enemy should take the country by surprise, massacre, captivity and dispersion must follow, and the dissolution of the whole settlements. Entertaining these views, they set out with ardor, and persevered with steadiness, losing no time through the day with loitering, they made their bodily strength the measure of their performance, and when the shades of evening admonished them that the season of rest was at hand, drawing upon their scanty stock, they partook of a coarse and frugal but strengthening and comfortable repast, for to the hungry soul every bitter thing is sweet. This ended, and having drunk of a neighboring stream, their next care was to find a wide-spreading oak, or beech, or a projecting rock which might shelter them from the chilling dews of night. And now each of them, like

the patriarch of old, took one of the stones of the place for his pillow, and being wrapped in his blanket, laid himself down along-side of his rifle, conscious of having performed the duties of the day and void of care they gave themselves to sleep. Here no wakeful sentinels, walking his nightly rounds, guarded the camp; no fantastic visions nor terrific dreams disturbed their rest. Wild beasts, which the light of day awed into obscurity, had now crept from their dens and lurking places and were roaming abroad prowling for prey, uttering a thousand cries, and hideous screams, and dismal howlings, throughout the shadowy gloom of these interminable forests. Yet neither did these interrupt the repose of the two disguised soldiers. They were yet far in the rear of the enemy, but by observing his encampments, soon found that they were gaining ground, and in a few days that they were approaching his main body. This caused a sharp look-out. Relying on vigilance, circumspection and stratagem, they did not relax their speed, but carefully reconnoitered every hill and valley, every brake, glen and defile. At length one morning about ten o'clock, whilst descending Sewel mountain on its eastern side, and when near to its base, the enemy was descried near half a mile distant, on McClung's plantation, killing hogs for their breakfast. The spies now diverged from the path which they had been pursuing, and making a small circuit, so as to allow the enemy sufficient elbow-room, or as a seaman would say, give him a good berth, that he might enjoy his feast. Thus they passed undiscovered and soon reached the settlement in safety. At the first house they experienced some difficulty, having entirely the appearance of Indian warriors. But by giving a circumstantial account of the object of their visit, and especially as they were able to do this in unbroken English, they soon gained credence and were recognized as friends. Measures were now taken to alarm the settlement, and before night all the inhabitants were assembled in Colonel Donally's dwelling-house. This building which had heretofore been the tranquil residence of a private family and which had been characterized by its friendship and hospitality to all who entered it, must now become the theatre of war and be made familiar with tragic scenes and events. The prospect

must indeed have been gloomy. All the inhabitants of the settlement were collected in one house to be defended by a few men, very few in proportion to the number of the enemy about to attack them. They, however, were well acquainted with the tactics of Indian warfare and the use of their arms. Every man had full confidence in himself and his fellows. Now preparations were made for a siege or an assault. Every instrument of death which could be found was put in requisition, prepared in the best manner and placed where it could be most readily seized when wanted. A strict watch was kept through the night, but no enemy had yet appeared. The second day passed off in like manner. On the second night most of the men went to the second story, having slept none for nearly forty-eight hours. In the latter part of the night they became drowsy and when daylight began to appear were all in a profound sleep. Only three men were on the lower floor,—Hammon, one of the spies, a white servant and a black servant of Colonel Donally. At daybreak the white servant opened the door, that he might bring in some firewood. He had gone but a few steps from the house when he was shot down. The Indians now sprang from their concealment in the edge of the rye-field near to the house, and rushing in a body, attempted to enter the door.* Hammon and the black servant Dick made an effort to secure it, but failing in this they placed their shoulders against a hogshead of water which stood behind, and which they had drawn nearer to the door. But the Indians commenced chopping with their tomahawks and had actually cut through the door and were also pressing to force it open. Having already made a partial opening, Dick fearing that they might succeed in gaining their purpose, left Hammon at his post and seizing a musket which stood near, loaded with heavy slugs, discharged it through the opening among the crowd. The Indians now fell back and the door was secured. By this time the men on the second story had shaken off their slumbers and were every man at his post, pouring down the shot upon the enemy. He, finding his quarters too warm, scampered off with all possible speed

to a distant point where he could find shelter. One boy alone fell behind. He at the first onset wishing to unite his fortune with that of his seniors, hastened to the door, hoping no doubt to participate in the massacre which he expected to follow, or at least to have the pleasure of witnessing it. Having been disappointed in this and now unable to keep pace with his friends in their retreat and fearing that a ball from the fort might overtake him, he turned aside and sheltered himself in the lower story of an old building which stood near, uttering through the day many dolorous cries and lamentations. One of the garrison, who knew something of the Indian tongue, invited him into the fort with an assurance of safety. But he, doubtless, suspected in others what he would be likely to practice himself, and what the whites had already practiced on the noble-hearted Cornstalk and his fellow sufferers, and declined the invitation, and awaiting the darkness of the night escaped to his friends. The Indians continued to fire on the fort occasionally during the day, and succeeded in killing one man through a crevice in the wall.*

At this time the population of Greenbrier was composed of isolated settlements, separated by intervals of uncultivated country. The settlement near to Fort Donally, called the Meadows, did not at this time contain many inhabitants. On the first alarm, a messenger was sent to the Lewisburg settlement, fifteen or eighteen miles distant. This messenger was the person killed on the next morning after he returned to Donally's as he went out to get firewood. By the activity of Col. Samuel Lewis and Col. John Stewart, a force of sixty or seventy armed men was ready to march on the third morning, the very morning on which the fort was attacked. They, to avoid any ambush of the enemy, left the direct road and took a circuitous route, and when they arrived opposite the fort turned across and concealing themselves by passing through a rye-field, all entered with safety. There was now much room for congratulation that the garrison had bravely defended themselves, and that they were now so much strengthened that they could bid

* Colonel Stewart says that there was a kind of stockade fort around the house and that it was the kitchen door which the Indians attacked.

* Colonel Stewart says that this man's name was Graham and that they also killed James Burns and Alexander Ochiltree early in the morning as they were coming to the house.

desiance to their enemies. The Indians now saw themselves baffled and disappointed. They had made a long journey with the avowed purpose of avenging the death of their chiefs. They now determined to raise the siege and return home. Dejected and chagrined, their number diminished, encumbered with the wounded, they retreated with slow and melancholy reluctance. For some years now the Indians had been unsuccessful on the frontier of Virginia. [1774.] They were roughly handled and driven back into their own country. [1777.] Their chiefs were murdered, and now [1778] they were beaten off with loss* and disgrace. Not a scalp as a trophy of bravery, not a prisoner whom they might immolate to quiet the manes of their deceased friends.

Although the enemy retreated slowly, the garrison did not think themselves strong enough to pursue. The inhabitants now returned to their homes without apprehension of danger.

But where are the spies? What has been done for them? When one of the most illustrious monarchs of the East had discovered a plot against his own life, wishing to reward the individual who had disclosed the treason, he enquired of his chief counsellor, "What shall be done to the man whom the king delighteth to honor?" The counsellor in substance replied as follows, that the greatest honor which royalty could bestow, consistent with its own sovereignty and independence, should be conferred on the man whom the king delighted to honor. In accordance with this advice, a royal decree was issued and the same counsellor was charged with its execution and it was executed in the most public manner. Among the Romans civic honors were decreed to him who had saved the life of a citizen. These honors were the greatest which the government had in its power to bestow. Here we see that two of the greatest empires that the world has ever seen, bestowed the highest honors on him who saved the life of another. But what was the conduct of these spies? They subjected themselves to fatigue and privation

and peril during a journey on foot of little less than two hundred miles, through a mountainous, uninhabited wilderness, to save from destruction not one or two or a few individuals, but a whole community, the entire population of Greenbriar and they were successful. And what reward have they received? None either honorary or pecuniary. Certain it is that for some time after the attack on fort Donally their names were mentioned with much eclat and no doubt the inhabitants of Greenbriar would exercise toward them their usual courtesy and hospitality. But gratitude is not a perennial plant. Did the government reward them? At that time the government of Virginia was fully occupied in defending her Eastern frontier against a foreign enemy. But had the case of the spies been represented to the legislature, their names would have been recorded with honorable mention of their services and themselves made pensioners for life. The black servant, Dick, was more fortunate. His case came before the legislature and his freedom was decreed. It is pleasing to know, that Dick lived near threescore years after this, respected for his industry, probity and other civic virtues.

But to return to the savages: their desire of revenge was not yet satiated. The manes of their slaughtered chiefs had not yet been quieted. No doubt they reproached themselves with their dilatory performance of the paramount duty of retaliation.

"Whilst great Cornstalk's shade complained that they were slow,
And Red-Hawk's ghost walked unrevenged amongst them."

Hoping for better fortune, they now turned their arms against the infant settlement of Kentucky, in which they were lamentably successful. At the Blue Licks fell many of the flower of the population. Many too were destroyed in boats descending the Ohio river and much property was lost. For many years this destructive mode of war continued. The campaigns of Harmer and St. Clair gave but little respite; in the latter of these, Kentucky again lost some of her bravest sons. The establishment of a chain of posts from Cincinnati to Lake Erie; the victory gained by the United States troops under General Wayne, near to Detroit, over a confederacy of Indian tribes; and a treaty

* The amount of their loss was not ascertained, nor their whole number. Col. Stewart says, "seventeen of the enemy lay dead in the yard when we got in." They may have taken the scalps of Burns and Ochiltree mentioned in a previous note.

of peace with those tribes, which soon followed, at least gave repose to the frontier settlements. The wise, liberal and pacific policy of Washington and most of his successors toward the Indian nations; and the frequent purchases from different tribes of Indians of larger portions of their lands for pecuniary considerations; and the establishment of strong garrisons of United States troops in different parts of the Western country;—have done much to check wars between the tribes of Indians, and to prevent their assaults upon the white settlements. The surrender of fort Detroit also had a similar tendency. No serious injury was ever apprehended from the Western Indians, after the victory achieved by General Wayne, unless when confederated with some foreign power. By the extinguishment of Indian titles to their lands, tribes and remnants of tribes have been seen every year removing Westward, choosing rather the neighborhood of the beaver and buffalo, than that of the white man. And what is now the situation of that country? And what was its situation when Wayne gained his victory? Could any one of the thousands of his army possessing the most vivid, or if you please, the most eccentric imagination, have been able to command a full view of the countries bounded by the Ohio, the Mississippi and the great lakes, could such an one have anticipated the results that have since taken place? Then that whole region was claimed and possessed by hordes of lawless, half-starved savages, gaining a meagre subsistence by the chase and delighting in blood and plunder. Could such an one have supposed, that in less than half a century the whole of this wide-spread region would be inhabited by a civilized population in the full tide of prosperity? In a very few years after Wayne's victory, emigrants from the Northern States, from Virginia, Kentucky and other portions of our country covered most of the Eastern part of this large region. Where erewhile had been the Indian wigwam and encampments, now might be seen farm-houses, barns and other buildings; plantations laid off into fields, all those grains and grasses and domestic animals which contribute so much to the subsistence and comfort of man; verdant pastures, flowering meadows, bending orchards

and yellow harvest-fields of luxuriant grain surpassing in beauty all other crops. Also were distributed over the country work-shops in which various mechanical occupations were pursued for domestic purposes. The enterprise of the citizens was evident too from their eagerness in accomplishing facilities for intercourse between different parts of the State and also with other States, such as canals, roads, &c., which received their early attention. Villages and towns too have sprung up with great rapidity, and cities, which vie in splendor, magnitude and commercial riches with those of the Atlantic States. Schools also and academies and colleges and churches and learned societies and periodical publications and printing establishments, everywhere to be found, show the taste of the people for improvement. The country from the fertility of its soil and industry of its inhabitants, besides supplying the wants of a numerous population, yields an immense surplus for exportation. The trade on the rivers and lakes is chiefly in vessels of magnitude, equal to those that traverse the Atlantic, propelled not by wind, or tide, or current, but moving often with great velocity and with heavy burthens, in a direction contrary to all these forces and entirely overcoming them—and this by an invention of modern origin and entirely American. This immense region of country extending from the Ohio to the great Lakes and to the Mississippi on the West, is now covered by a civilized population and divided into four separate independent republican governments, each managing its own internal concerns and each united with the other States of the American Union, for general purposes. Can any man review the state of things in that immense region from the year 1794 until the present time and cease to wonder at the unaccountable transformations that have taken place in the face of the country, population and improvements? Very similar great changes have taken place in the great States of Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas and Missouri, nearly in the same time and from the same causes. Nothing appears more extraordinary, unless it be that the great valley of the Mississippi should have remained so totally unknown until the close of the 18th century.

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C O R R I G E N D A.

Page 5th, left-hand column, 15th line from the bottom :—"A violent storm raging for four days dispersed and shattered Drake's fleet and destroyed the vessels that had been assigned to Lane." This is inaccurate; the vessels referred to were only blown off to sea and probably afterwards rejoined the fleet, although this is not mentioned.

Page 32nd, left-hand column, 25th line from the top :—For, "the governor sate in the choir, on a green velvet cushion, laid on a table before him, on which he knelt," read, "The governor sate in the choir, on a chaire, with a cloath, with a green velvet cushion laid on a table before him, on which he knelt."

Page 37th, right-hand column, 9th line from the bottom :—"This, it is said, was the first instance of raising money by this mode [lottery] in England." By an authority which I had not seen when the above was printed, I have learned that a lottery was drawn in England for the purpose of raising a fund for repairing the harbors of the kingdom, as early as 1569. See Anderson's History of the Colonial Church, Vol. 1, p. 271, in note. This is an elaborate and instructive work.

Page 38th, left-hand column, 4th line from the bottom :—For "Rev. Mr. Mays," read, "Rev. Mr. Mease."

Page 41st, left-hand column, in note :—"And I think I have somewhere seen that he died about the mouth of Delaware Bay, which thence took its name from him." Stith 148, Belknap, v. 2, p. 115-16. Stith fell into an error on this point and Belknap followed him in it. Delaware Bay, (the

mouth of the river called by the Indians Chickahocki) and river, were so named in 1611, when Lord Delaware put in there, on his homeward voyage. 1. Anderson's History of the Colonial Church, pp. 271, 311.

Page 62nd, left-hand column, 10th line from the bottom :—For "expelled Lord Baltimore from Maryland," read, "expelled Leonard Calvert, brother of Lord Baltimore and his deputy Governor, from Maryland." And 8th line, for "Baltimore who had fled to Virginia," read, "Calvert who had fled to Virginia."

Page 89th, left-hand column, 2nd line from the bottom, in note :—For "governor of South Carolina," read, "governor of North Carolina."

Page 106th, right-hand column, 11th line from the bottom, in note :—For "Major John Spotswood," read, "Captain John Spotswood," and left-hand column, 23rd line from top, for *Edward Jennings*, read *Edmund*.

Page 107th, right-hand column, 15th line from the bottom, in note :—For "there are no Stores," read, "there are no Stones."

Page 113th, left-hand column, 11th line from the bottom :—For "100,000," read, "500,000."

Page 118th, left-hand column, 7th line from the top :—For "at Bridge's Creek on the Potomac," read, "on the banks of Pope's Creek near where it empties into the Potomac."

Page 119th, right-hand column, 24th line from the top :—For "after an absence of eleven days," read, "after an absence of eleven weeks."

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